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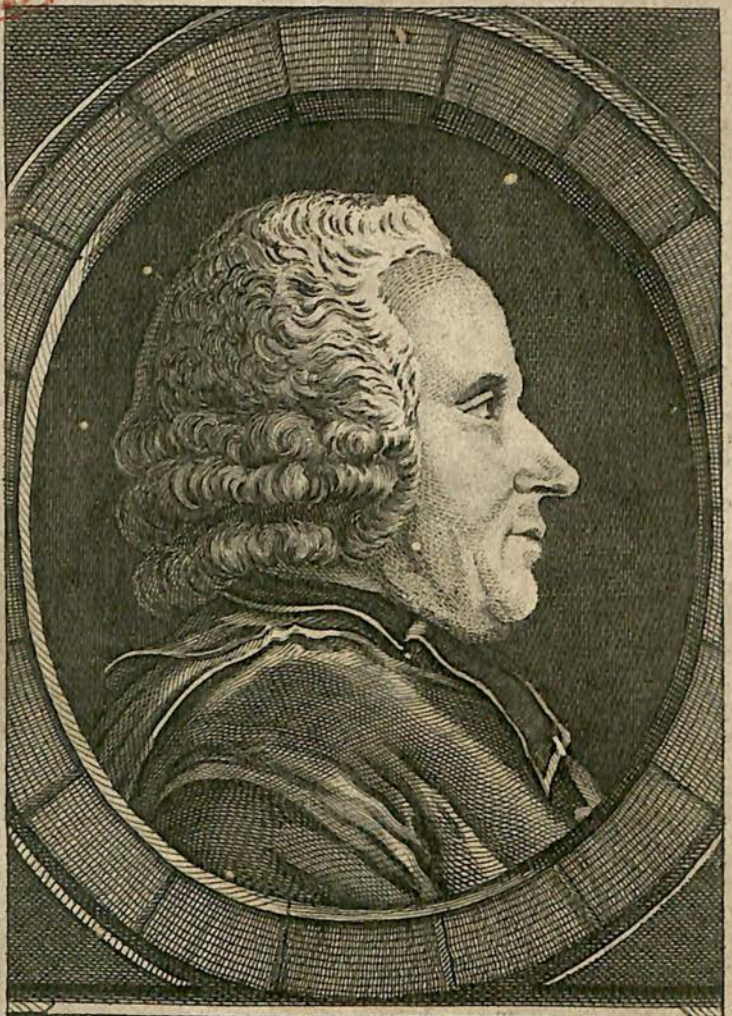

W. T. RAYNAL. F. R. S
Member of the Academy of Sciences
& Belle Lettres of Prussia.

Bannerman Sculp.

A

PHILOSOPHICAL AND POLITICAL

HISTORY

OF THE

SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

OF THE

EUROPEANS

IN THE

EAST AND WEST INDIES.

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IN TEN VOLUMES,
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WITH A

New Set of Maps adapted to the Work, and a copious Index.

IN SIX VOLUMES.

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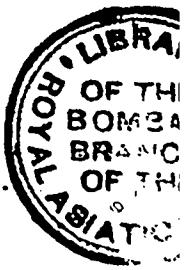


THE laſt edition of this work, publiſhed by the Abbé Raynal in ten volumes, being entirely new-modelled, the tranſlation is in conſequence almoſt totally a new work. It is neceſſary to inform the reader that the calculations have all been made anew, moſt of them having been altered in the original. The livres are calculated at the rate of tenpence Sterling each livre.

Seven new maps, engraved on purpoſe by Mr. Kitchen, and adapted to the work, are annexed, viz.

A map of the world, with the new diſcoveries, on Mercator's projection.

One map of Europe.

One of Africa, with the European ſettlements.

One of the European ſettlements in the Eaſt Indies.

One of the European ſettlements in South America.

One of the European ſettlements in Mexico, or New Spain, and the Weſt Indies.

One of the United States of North America, with the Britiſh, French, and Spaniſh dominions adjoining, according to the treaty of 1783.

CONTENTS.

VOL. I.

Page.

ADVERTISEMENT of the Tranſlator, vii

BOOK I.

INTRODUCTION.

DISCOVERIES, Wars, and Conqueſts of the Portugueſe in the Eaſt Indies, - - - - 1

Firſt voyages of the Portugueſe into thoſe ſeas where it was ſuppoſed the iſland of Atalantis formerly was, - 25
Diſcovery of Madeira. Preſent ſtate of the iſland, - 28
Voyages of the Portugueſe to the continent of Africa, - 31
Arrival of the Portugueſe in the Eaſt Indies, - 32
A geographical deſcription of Aſia, - - ib.
Natural hiſtory of Indoſtan, - - - - 35
Antiquity of Indoſtan, - - - - - 37
Religion, government, legiſlation, manners, and cuſtoms of Indoſtan, - - - - - - 38
Conduct of the Portugueſe on the Malabar coaſt, - 76
Conqueſt of Goa by the Portugueſe, - - - - 80
Manner in which the Europeans carried on trade with India, before the Portugueſe had doubled the Cape of Good Hope, 81
The Portugueſe make themſelves maſters of the Red Sea, 90
Dangers from which Europe hath been preſerved by the dominion of the Portugueſe over the Red Sea, - 93
The Portugueſe make themſelves maſters of the Perſian Gulf, 96
The Portugueſe form a ſettlement at Ceylon, - - 98
The Portugueſe conquer Malacca, - - - 101
Settlement of the Portugueſe in the Molucca Iſlands - 105
The cauſes of the enterpriſing ſpirit of the Portugueſe, 110
Arrival of the Portugueſe at China. State of the empire, 113
State of China, according to the panegyriſts of that country, 114
State of China, according to the accounts of the calumniators of that empire, - - - - - 132
Arrival of the Portugueſe at Japan. Religion, manners, and government of theſe iſlands, - - - 149

Page.
Extent of the Portugueſe dominions in India, - 154
Degeneracy of the Portugueſe in India, - - 155
Brilliant adminiſtration of Caſtro, - - - 159
The Portugueſe grow effeminate, and are no longer formidable, 161
A general conſpiracy is formed againſt the Portugueſe. The manner in which Ataida diſconcerts it, - - 163
State into which Portugal falls, when it is ſubdued by Spain, 166
Detail of the other cauſes that brought on the ruin of the Portugueſe in India, - - - - 168
Preſent ſtate of the Portugueſe in India, - - 170

BOOK II.

The Settlements, Wars, Policy, and Trade, of the Dutch in the Eaſt Indies, - - - - 172

Ancient revolutions in Holland, - - - ib.
Riſe of the republic of Holland, - - - 176
The firſt voyages of the Hollanders to India, - 179
Eſtabliſhment of the Eaſt India Company, - - 181
Wars between the Hollanders and Portugueſe, - 183
The Hollanders form a ſettlement at Formoſa, - 186
Trade of the Hollanders to Japan, - - - 188
The Moluccas ſubmit to the Dutch, - - 194
The Dutch form a ſettlement at Timor, - - 203
The Dutch make themſelves maſters of Celebes, - 204
The Dutch open a communication with Borneo, - 209
Settlement of the Dutch at Sumatra, - - - 210
Trade of the Dutch at Siam, - - - - 216
Situation of the Dutch at Malacca, - - 217
Settlement of the Dutch at Ceylon, - - - 218
Trade of the Dutch on the coaſt of Coromandel, - 226
Trade of the Dutch on the coaſt of Malabar, - - 227
Settlement of the Dutch at the Cape of Good Hope, - 228
Dominion of the Dutch in the iſland of Java, - - 243
The manner of conducting the affairs of the Dutch Company in India and in Europe, - - - - 260
Cauſes of the proſperity of the Company, - - 264
Decline of the Company, - - - - 266
Reaſons of the decline of the Company, - - 270
Meaſures that remain to be taken for the re-eſtabliſhment of the Company's affairs, - - - - 275
Misfortunes which threaten the Company, - - 280
Motives which the republic may have not to ſuffer the ruin of the Company, - - - - - 288
Former good conduct of the Dutch, and their preſent degeneracy, - - - - - - 291

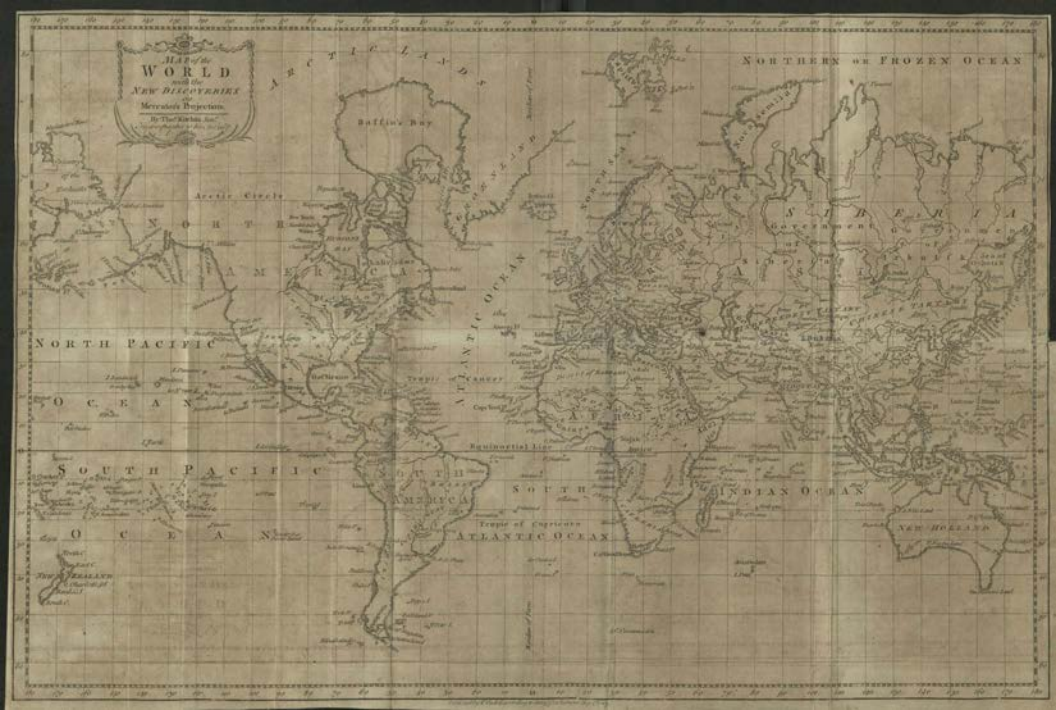
BOOK III.

Page.

Settlements, Trade, and Conqueſts of the Engliſh in the Eaſt Indies, - - - - - 298

Sketch of the ancient ſtate of the Engliſh commerce, - ib.
Firſt voyages of the Engliſh to India, - - 305
Diſputes between the Engliſh and Dutch, - - 309
Diſputes of the Engliſh with the Portugueſe, - - 312
The Engliſh form connections with Perſia, - - 313
Decline of the Engliſh in India, - - - 318
Revival of the Engliſh trade in India, - - 319
Misfortunes and miſconduct of the Engliſh in India, - ib.
War between the Engliſh and French, - - 327
Deſcription of Arabia. Revolutions it has experienced. Character of its inhabitants, - - - - ib.
General trade with Arabia, and that of the Engliſh in particular, - - - - - - 336
Revolutions which trade has experienced in the Perſian Gulf, 347
Preſent ſtate of trade in the Perſian Gulf, and of that of the Engliſh in particular, - - - - 350
Deſcription of the coaſt of Malabar. Sketch of the ſtates which compoſe it, - - - - 358
Preſent ſtate of Goa, - - - - 371
Account of the pirates of Angria, - - - 372
Preſent ſtate of the Marattas on the coaſt of Malabar, - 373
Revolutions that have happened to Surat. Conſequence of the influence which the Engliſh have acquired there, - 374
Deſcription of the iſland of Salſette, - - - 376
Deſcription of the iſland of Bombay. Its preſent ſtate, and its importance, - - - - - 377
State of the coaſt of Coromandel, at the time of the arrival of the Engliſh, - - - - 380
In what manner the Europeans have ſettled their trade on the Coromandel coaſt, and the extent they have given to it, 382
Poſſeſſions of the Engliſh on the coaſt of Coromandel, - 388
Engliſh ſettlement in the iſland of Sumatra, - - 394
Views of the Engliſh upon Balambangan. Their expulſion from that iſland, - - - - 396
Revolutions that have happened in Bengal, - - 397
Ancient manners of the Indians ſtill exiſting in the Biſſanpour, 398
Productions, manufactures, and exports of Bengal, - 401
What opinion may be formed of the Engliſh ſettlement at St. Helena, - - - - - 415
The uſe the Engliſh make of the iſlands of Comora, - 417
The Engliſh Company leave the country trade to private adventurers, - - - - - 418

Page.
Reſtraints experienced by the Company in their trade; capital they beſtowed upon it, and degree of extenſion they give to it, - - - - - - 419
Conqueſt of Bengal. How and by whom it was made, 422
Meaſures taken by the Engliſh to maintain themſelves at Bengal, - - - - - - - 427
Can England flatter herſelf that the proſperity of Bengal will continue, - - - - - - 429
Oppreſſion and cruelties exerciſed by the Engliſh in Bengal, 431
Meaſures taken by the government, and by the Company itſelf, to put an end to depredations of all kinds, - - 442
Preſent ſituation of the Company, - - - 448
Will the charter of the Company be renewed, - 449


MAP of the
WORLD
with the
NEW DISCOVERIES
in
Mercator's Projection.
By Thos. Kitchin Junr.
ARCTIC LAND
Baffins Bay
Arctic Circle
NORTH AMERICA
NORTH PACIFIC
OCEAN
SOUTH PACIFIC
OCEAN
NEW ZEALAND
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTHERN or FROZEN OCEAN
SIBERIA
Equinoctial Line
SOUTH AMERICA
Tropic of Capricorn
ATLANTIC OCEAN
SOUTH INDIAN OCEAN
NEW HOLLAND

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BOOK I.

INTRODUCTION.

Discoveries, Wars, and Conquests of the Portuguese in the East Indies.

BOOK I.

No event has been so interesting to mankind in general, and to the inhabitants of Europe in particular, as the discovery of the New World, and the passage to India by the Cape of Good Hope. It gave rise to a revolution in the commerce, and in the power of nations; as well as in the manners, industry, and government of the whole world. At this period, new connections were formed by the inhabitants of the most distant regions, for the supply of wants they had never before experienced. The productions of climates situated under the equator, were consumed in countries bordering on the pole; the industry of the north was transplanted to the south; and the inhabitants of the west were clothed with

BOOK I. the manufactures of the eaſt; a general intercourſe of opinions, laws and cuſtoms, diſeaſes and remedies, virtues and vices, was eſtabliſhed among men.

Every thing has changed, and muſt change again. But it is a queſtion, whether the revolutions that are paſt, or thoſe which muſt hereafter take place, have been, or can be, of any utility to the human race. Will they ever add to the tranquillity, the happineſs, and the pleaſures of mankind? Can they improve our preſent ſtate, or do they only change it?

The Europeans have founded colonies in all parts; but are they acquainted with the principles on which they ought to be formed? They have eſtabliſhed a commerce of exchange, of the productions of the earth, and of manufactures. This commerce is tranſferred from one people to another. Can we not diſcover by what means, and under what circumſtances, this has been effected? Since America, and the paſſage by the Cape, has been known, ſome nations, that were of no conſequence, are become powerful; others, that were the terror of Europe, have loſt their authority. In what manner has the condition of theſe ſeveral people been affected by theſe diſcoveries? How comes it to paſs, that thoſe to whom Nature has been moſt liberal, are not always the richeſt and moſt flouriſhing? To throw ſome light on theſe important queſtions, we muſt take a view of the ſtate of Europe before theſe diſcoveries were made; we muſt trace circumſtantially the events they have given riſe to; and conclude with examining it, as it preſents itſelf at this day.

Such is the alarming taſk I have impoſed upon myſelf, and to which I have devoted my whole life. I have called in to my aſſiſtance men of information from all nations. I have interrogated the living and the dead: the living, whoſe ſentiments have been conveyed to me from all quarters; the dead, who have tranſmitted their opinions and their knowledge to us, in whatever language they may have written. I have weighed their authorities, oppoſed their teſti-

monies to each other, and by theſe means have brought facts to light. Had any one pointed out to me a man living under the equator, or under the pole, who might have been able to give me information on any important matter, I would have viſited either of thoſe diſtant regions, that I might have called upon him to open his mind to me. The auguſt image of Truth hath ever been preſent to my mind. O holy Truth! thou haſt been the ſole object of my veneration! If, in after ages, this work ſhould ſtill be read, it is my wiſh, that, while my readers perceive how much I am diveſted from paſſions and prejudice, they ſhould be ignorant of the kingdom which gave me birth, of the government under which I lived, of the profeſſion I followed in my country, and of the religious faith I profeſſed: it is my wiſh, that they ſhould only conſider me as their fellow-citizen and their friend. The firſt duty that is incumbent upon us, the firſt care we ought to attend to, when we treat of things important to the happineſs of mankind, is to expel from our minds every idea of hope or fear. Raiſed above all human conſiderations, it is then we ſoar above the atmoſphere, and behold the globe beneath us. From thence it is, that we let fall our tears upon perſecuted genius, upon talents neglected, and upon virtue in diſtreſs. From thence it is, that we pour forth imprecations on thoſe who deceive mankind, and thoſe who oppreſs them and devote them to ignominy. From thence it is, that we ſee the proud head of the tyrant humbled and covered with duſt; while the modeſt front of the juſt man reaches to the vault of the ſkies. From thence it is, that I have been enabled to cry out, I am free, and feel myſelf upon a level with the ſubject I treat. It is from thence, in a word, that, viewing thoſe beautiful regions in which the arts and ſciences flouriſh, and which have been for ſo long a time obſcured by ignorance and barbariſm, I have ſaid to myſelf: Who is it that hath digged theſe canals? Who is it that hath dried up theſe plains? Who is it that

BOOK I. hath founded theſe cities? Who is it that hath collected, clothed, and civilized theſe people? Then have I heard the voice of all the enlightened men among them, who have anſwered: This is the effect of commerce.

Accordingly, thoſe ſtates that have been commercial, have civilized all the reſt. The Phœnicians, whoſe extent of country and influence were extremely limited, acquired, by their genius for naval enterpriſes, an importance which ranked them foremoſt in the hiſtory of the ancient nations. They are mentioned by every hiſtorian. They were known to the moſt diſtant climes, and their fame has been tranſmitted to ſucceeding ages.

Situated on a barren coaſt, ſeparated from the continent by the Mediterranean on the one ſide, and the mountains of Libanus on the other, they ſeem to have been deſtined by Nature for the dominion of the ſea. Fiſhing taught them the art of navigation, and furniſhed them with the purple dye, which they extracted from the murex; while the ſea ſand upon their ſhores led them to diſcover the ſecret of making glaſs. Happy in poſſeſſing ſo few natural advantages, ſince the want of theſe awakened that ſpirit of invention and induſtry, which is the parent of arts and opulence!

It muſt be confeſſed, that the ſituation of the Phœnicians was admirably adapted to extend their commerce to every part of the world. By dwelling, as it were, on the confines of Africa, Aſia, and Europe, if they could not unite the inhabitants of the globe in one common intereſt, they at leaſt had it in their power, by a commercial intercourſe, to communicate to every nation the enjoyments of all climates. But the ancients, whom we have ſo often excelled, though we have derived much uſeful knowledge from them, had not means ſufficient to enable them to eſtabliſh an univerſal commerce. The Phœnicians had no ſhipping, except galleys; they only carried on a coaſting trade, and their ſailing was confined to

the Mediterranean. Although this ſtate was the mo- BOOK
del upon which other maritime powers were formed, I.
it is not ſo eaſy to determine what it has, as what it might have performed. We may form a conjecture of the population of the Phœnicians by their colonies. It is ſaid that their numbers extended along the coaſts of the Mediterranean, and particularly on the ſhores of Africa.

Tyre or Sidon, the queen of the ocean, gave birth to Carthage. While the opulence of Tyre invited tyrants to rivet its fetters, Carthage, the offspring of Tyre, notwithſtanding its riches, had this happy advantage over the parent ſtate, that it enjoyed its liberty. It commanded the coaſts of Africa, and had poſſeſſion of Spain, which in thoſe days was the richeſt country in Europe, and famous for gold and ſilver mines of its own, though deſtined, at the expence of ſo much bloodſhed, to acquire others in the new world.

Had the Roman power never exiſted, Carthage would in all probability have been nothing more than a commercial ſtate; but the ambition of one nation excited all the reſt to relinquiſh the arts of commerce for thoſe of war, and either to conquer or to periſh. Carthage fell in the conteſt, becauſe riches produce an oppoſite effect to poverty, ſince they extinguiſh courage, and bring on a diſlike to military exertions. The ſubverſion of a republic, which gloried in its induſtry, and owed its power to its ſkill in uſeful arts, was, perhaps, a misfortune to Europe, and to the world in general.

Greece, interſected every where by ſeas, muſt neceſſarily flouriſh by commerce. Its poſition in the Archipelago, and its diſtance from any large continent, ſeemed to make it unlikely that it ſhould either conquer or be conquered. Situated between Aſia and Europe, it contributed to civilize both the one and the other, and enjoyed a deſerved ſhare of proſperity, as the reward of its labours and ſervices. Almoſt all the Greeks came either from Egypt or

BOOK I. Phœnicia, and brought along with them the knowledge and induſtry of thoſe countries; but of all the Aſiatic colonies, thoſe were the moſt flouriſhing and happy that had a turn for commerce.

Athens employed her firſt ſhips either in carrying on a trade with Aſia, or in planting as many colonies as Greece in her infancy might have received from thence: but theſe emigrations involved them in wars. The Perſians, living under an arbitrary government, would not even ſuffer any free people to ſettle on the confines of the ſea; and the Satraps inculcated into the Great King the doctrine of univerſal ſlavery. This was the ſource of all the wars in Aſia Minor, where the Athenians found means to make all the inſular and maritime ſtates either their allies or their ſubjects. Athens enlarged her commerce by her victories, and her power by her commerce. All the arts made their appearance in Greece at the ſame time, together with the luxury of Aſia.

Commerce, agriculture, and the means of population, were introduced into Sicily by the Greeks and the Carthaginians. Rome, who beheld their progreſs with a jealous eye, ſeized upon that iſland which was deſtined to ſupply it with ſubſiſtence; and, having driven out the two nations that contended for the ſovereignty of it, attacked firſt one, and then the other. From the moment that Carthage was deſtroyed, Greece neceſſarily trembled for her fate. But it was Alexander who marked the way for the Romans; nor was it poſſible, perhaps, that the Greeks could have been ſubdued by a foreign power, if they had not firſt conquered each other. Commerce is finally deſtroyed by the riches it accumulates, as power is by its own conqueſts; and when the commerce of the Greeks had failed in the Mediterranean, it no longer ſubſiſted in any part of the known world.

The Greeks, by improving upon all the ſciences and arts they had received from the Egyptians and

Tyrians, elevated human reaſon to a high degree of perfection: but it has been reduced ſo low by the ſubſequent revolutions of empires, that in all probability it will never riſe again to the ſame ſtandard. Their admirable inſtitutions were ſuperior to the beſt we have at this day. The plan upon which they founded their colonies does honour to their humanity. As all the arts owed to them their riſe and perfection, they did not ſurvive the fate of their protectors. It is evident, from ſome works of Xenophon, that the Greeks were better acquainted with the principles of trade, than moſt modern nations are at preſent.

If we conſider that the Europeans have the advantage of all the knowledge of the Greeks; that their commerce is infinitely more extenſive; that ſince the improvements in navigation, their ideas are directed to greater and more various objects; it is aſtoniſhing that they ſhould not have the moſt palpable ſuperiority over them. But it muſt be obſerved, that when theſe people arrived at the knowledge of the arts and of trade, they were juſt produced, as it were, from the hands of Nature, and had all the powers neceſſary to improve the talents ſhe had given them; whereas the European nations were ſubject to laws and inſtitutions of an extravagant nature. In Greece, the arts of trade met with men; in Europe, with ſlaves. Whenever the abſurdities of our inſtitutions have been pointed out, we have taken pains to correct them, without ever daring totally to overthrow the edifice. We have remedied ſome abuſes, by introducing others; and, in our efforts to ſupport, reform, and palliate, we have adopted more contradictions and abſurdities in our manners, than are to be found among the moſt barbarous people.

The Romans, formed for conqueſt, though they dazzled the world with an appearance of grandeur, fell ſhort of the Greeks in their improvements in philoſophy and the arts, in their encouragement of induſtry, and their advancement of rational knowledge.

BOOK I. They promoted an intercourſe between different nations, not by uniting them by the ties of commerce, but by impoſing upon them the ſame yoke of ſubordination. They ravaged the globe, which, when reduced to ſubjection, they left in a ſtate rather of lethargy than tranquillity. Their deſpotiſm and military government oppreſſed the people, extinguiſhed the powers of genius, and degraded the human race.

Conſtantine paſſed two laws, which, though Monteſquieu has not ventured to reckon them among the cauſes of the decline of the empire, threw every thing into ſtill greater diſorder. The firſt, dictated by imprudence and fanaticiſm, though it appeared to be the effect of humanity, affords a proof that great innovations are often attended with much danger; and that the original rights of mankind cannot always be made the ſtandard of government. By this law, all ſlaves who ſhould embrace Chriſtianity, were allowed their freedom. Thus, while thoſe who had hitherto dragged on a precarious exiſtence, were reinſtated in their primitive rights, the ſtate was weakened; becauſe the proprietors of large tracts of land were deprived of the number of hands neceſſary for their improvement, and were for ſome time reduced to the moſt extreme indigence. On the other hand, the new converts, having no property themſelves, or any certain means of ſubſiſtence, were not able to exert themſelves in favour of the ſtate, ſo as to repair the injury which the government had done to their maſters. It is equally impoſſible that they ſhould have had any attachment to a ſtate which did not afford them ſubſiſtence, or to a religion, which the irreſiſtible deſire of liberty alone had induced them to embrace. By another edict, paganiſm was prohibited throughout the whole empire; and theſe extenſive dominions were thus inhabited by men, whoſe attachment to each other, and to the ſtate, was no longer ſecured by the ſolemn ties of religion, nor by the oaths of allegiance. Having no prieſts, no temples, no public morals, they had no motives to excite them to repel an enemy, who ſhould attack

a government with which they were no longer connected.

Accordingly, the inhabitants of the north, when they rushed upon the empire, found every thing ready to favour their invasion. Harassed in Poland and in Germany by some nations which had migrated from Great Tartary, they took a temporary possession of certain provinces already ruined, till they were expelled by succeeding conquerors of a still more ferocious disposition than themselves. They were a succession of waves, pressing upon, and driving away each other. When these barbarians determined to settle in the regions they had laid waste, they divided countries which the Romans had formerly united. From that moment, all communication between those states, established by accident, necessity, or caprice, was at an end. The swarms of pirates that infested the seas, together with the fierce disposition of the inhabitants on the frontiers, discouraged every connection that mutual convenience might have rendered necessary. The subjects of every kingdom, that had any kind of extent, were separated from each other by insurmountable obstacles; for the banditti, who infested the roads, converted a journey of any length into a dangerous expedition. The nations of Europe, thus plunged a second time, by slavery and despair, into that state of insensibility and indolence, which must for many ages have been the primary state of the human race, derived little advantage from the fertility of their soil; and their industry was exhausted in the employments of a savage life. Tracts of country, at no great distance, were to them of as little importance, as if they had not existed; nor had they any further knowledge of their neighbours, than as they happened to excite their fears or their enmity.

The accounts given by some writers of the wealth and splendour of the seventh century, are as fabulous as all the other miraculous things we read of in the history of those times. The clothing then in use was of skins and coarse woollen; the conveniencies of life

BOOK I. were not known. Bold and ſolid edifices were indeed erected, which prove to what a degree of perfection an art may be carried, when it is the effect of the ſucceſſive and continual efforts of the nation that invented it. But an architecture ſprung up in the forests of the Druids, from an imitation of the trees, which, ſhooting up into the air, form very acute-angled arches, and the branches of which bend down, and are interwoven with each other, was not calculated to convey an idea either of the affluence or taſte of the age. Neither much money, nor much knowledge of the arts, is required to pile up heaps of ſtone by the hands of ſlaves. One inconteſtible proof of the indigence of the people was, that taxes were levied in kind; and that even the contributions, which the inferior clergy paid to their ſuperiors, conſiſted of proviſions.

The ſuperſtition that prevailed, increaſed the general darkneſs. With ſophiſms and ſubtlety, it laid the foundations of a falſe ſcience, with which it filled the minds of men, to the detriment of real knowledge. In the eighth, and the beginning of the ninth century, Rome, no longer the capital of the maſters of the univerſe, attempted to exerciſe her authority as before, in depoſing or making kings. Deprived of inhabitants and ſoldiers, by dint of opinions and religious tenets alone, ſhe aſpired to univerſal monarchy. By her management, princes were excited to take up arms againſt each other, people againſt their kings, and kings againſt their people. All merit conſiſted in making war, and all virtue in obeying the church. The dignity of monarchs was degraded by the claims of Rome, which inſpired a contempt for princes, without exciting the love of liberty. Literature was then compriſed in a few abſurd romances, and ſome melancholy tales, the offſpring of cloiſtered indolence. This contributed to entertain that dejection of ſpirit, and that propenſity to the marvellous, ſo favourable to the intereſts of ſuperſtition.

The face of the globe was again changed by two

other nations. A people pouring in from Scandinavia and the Cimbrian Cherſoneſus, ſpread themſelves to the north of Europe, which on the ſouthern ſide was haraſſed by the Arabs. The former were diſciples of Wodin, the latter of Mohammed; men who had equally diffuſed the fanaticiſm of conqueſt with that of religion. Charlemagne ſubdued one of theſe nations, and maintained his ground againſt the other. Theſe inhabitants of the north, called Saxons or Normans, were indigent, ill armed and undiſciplined, of ſavage manners, and driven to combat and to death by miſery and ſuperſtition. Charlemagne was deſirous of compelling them to change that religion which rendered them ſo terrible, for another which would diſpoſe them to obedience. He was obliged to wade through ſeas of blood, and the croſs was erected on heaps of ſlain. He was leſs ſucceſsful againſt the Arabs, conquerors of Aſia, Africa, and Spain; and could not gain a footing beyond the Pyrenean mountains.

The neceſſity of repulſing the Arabs, but eſpecially the Normans, occaſioned the revival of naval enterpriſes in Europe. Charlemagne in France, Alfred the Great in England, and ſome cities of Italy, built ſhips; and theſe firſt attempts towards navigation revived for a ſhort time maritime commerce. Charlemagne eſtabliſhed great fairs, the principal of which was at Aix-la-Chapelle. This is the method of trading among people where commerce is ſtill in its infancy.

The Arabs, in the mean time, laid the foundations of the moſt extenſive commerce that had been known ſince the times of Athens and Carthage. It is true, this was not ſo much owing to the lights of cultivated reaſon, and to the progreſs of a good adminiſtration, as to the extent of their power, and the nature of the country they poſſeſſed. Maſters of Spain, of Africa, of Aſia Minor, of Perſia, and part of India, they introduced reciprocal exchanges, from one region to another, of the commodities in different parts of their vaſt empire. They extended themſelves gradually

BOOK I. as far as the Moluccas and to China, sometimes as traders, sometimes as missionaries, frequently as conquerors.

Soon after this, the Venetians, Genoese, and Arabs of Barcelona, went to Alexandria to buy up the merchandise of Africa and India, and disposed of it in Europe. The Arabs, enriched by commerce, and fated with conquest, were no longer the same people who burnt the Alexandrian library. They cultivated the arts, and polite literature; and were distinguished from other conquering nations, by their improvements of the reason, and industry of men. To them we owe the sciences of algebra and chemistry, new discoveries in astronomy, new improvements in mechanics and medicine, unknown to the ancients. But, among the fine arts, poetry is the only one they have cultivated with success.

At the same period, the subjects of the Greek empire imitated the manufactures of Asia; and had, through various channels, monopolized the riches of India. But the advantages they derived from both these circumstances, could not survive the fate of their empire, which had nothing to oppose to the heroic and daring enthusiasm of the Arabs, but the weak and unmanly weapons of scholastic logic, and the controversial armour of monks; who had gained such an ascendant, that the emperor used to ask God pardon for the time he employed in affairs of state. Painting and sculpture were no longer known; and it was matter of eternal dispute, whether images ought, or ought not, to be worshipped. The Greeks, surrounded by the ocean, and in possession of several islands, had yet no maritime force: they defended themselves against the naval power of Egypt, and of the Saracens, by wild-fire; the vain and precarious defence of a degenerate people. Constantinople, not being in a condition to protect her maritime trade at a distance, resigned it to the Genoese, who seized upon Caffa, which they made a flourishing city.

The nobility of Europe acquired a tincture of the

manners of the Greeks and Arabs, in their ridiculous expeditions of the cruſades. They grew acquainted with their arts and their luxury, which afterwards became objects of neceſſity to them. The Venetians had a more extenſive demand for the goods they brought from the eaſt; and the Arabs themſelves carried ſome of them into France, England, and even into Germany.

Theſe powers had at that period neither ſhipping nor manufactures: they laid reſtraints upon commerce, and the character of a merchant was in no degree of eſtimation. This uſeful ſet of men were never reſpected among the Romans. They treated their merchants with as much contempt as their players, courtezans, baſtards, ſlaves, and gladiators. The political ſyſtem, eſtabliſhed throughout Europe by the power and ignorance of the northern nations, muſt neceſſarily have confirmed a prejudice, which owed its riſe to a barbarous pride. Our anceſtors had the abſurdity to adopt, as the baſis of their government, a principle deſtructive of all ſociety; a contempt for uſeful labour. The only perſons in any degree of eſtimation, were the lords of manors, or ſuch as had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in battle. The nobles, it is well known, were ſo many petty ſovereigns, who abuſed their own power, and oppoſed that of the monarch. The barons were fond of parade, avaricious, whimſical, and poor. Sometimes they invited the merchants into their little ſtates, and at others extorted money from them. In theſe barbarous times were eſtabliſhed the ſeveral duties of tolls, of export and import, of paſſage, of quarters, of eſcheat, and other oppreſſions without number. All the bridges and highways were opened, or ſtopped up, at the will of the prince, or his vaſſals. The firſt elements of commerce were ſo totally unknown, that it was cuſtomary to fix the price of commodities. The merchants were often pillaged, and always ill paid by the knights and barons. Trade was carried on in caravans, or companies, which went armed to the places where the fairs were kept. At theſe marts, the mer-

BOOK I. chants omitted nothing that might engage the favour of the people. They were generally accompanied by jugglers, muſicians, and buffoons. As there were then no large towns, and that neither public ſpectacles and meetings, nor the ſedentary pleaſures of private ſociety, were known, the fair time was the ſeaſon for diverſions, which, degenerating into diſſoluteneſs, gave a ſanction to the invectives and ſeverities of the clergy. The traders were frequently excommunicated. The people held thoſe ſtrangers in abhorrence who ſupplied their tyrants with ſuperfluities, and aſſociated with men whoſe manners were ſo repugnant to their prejudices and rude auſterity of life. The Jews, who ſoon engaged in all the branches of commerce, did not bring it into much repute. They were then conſidered in the ſame light throughout all Europe, as they are at this day in Poland and Turkey. As their fortunes were increaſing every day, they were enabled to advance money to merchants and tradeſmen; for which they demanded intereſt equivalent to the riſque they ran in veſting their capital in other hands. The ſchoolmen were violent in oppoſing this neceſſary meaſure, which their rude prejudices had taught them to condemn. This theological determination of a point of a civil and political nature, was attended with ſingular conſequences. The magiſtrates, blinded by an authority, againſt even the unjuſt exerciſe of which no one dared to appeal, denounced ſentence of confiſcation, and ignominious penalties, againſt uſury; which, in thoſe dark ages, the laws did not diſtinguiſh from the moſt moderate intereſt. It was at this juncture, that, to make themſelves amends for the dangers and mortifications they were expoſed to, in carrying on a commerce which was looked upon as odious and unlawful, the Jews abandoned themſelves to the moſt exceſſive rapacity. They were obliged to add to the price of money, which may be eſtimated by the wants of the perſon who borrows, by the credit of him who lends, and by a number of other circumſtances, the price of infamy, which is either of little value, or for which

there can be no compenſation. They became objects of univerſal deteſtation. Perſecuted, pillaged, and proſcribed, they invented bills of exchange, which ſecured the remains of their fortunes. The clergy declared the exchange uſurious; but it was of too great utility, to be aboliſhed. One of the effects it produced, was, to make the merchants more independent of the prince, who treated them better, apprehending that they might tranſport their riches into other countries.

The Italians, who are better known by the name of Lombards, were the firſt who took advantage of this early change of ideas. They formed ſmall communities, and procured the protection of ſome ſtates, who, on their account, diſpenſed with the laws againſt ſtrangers, which had been made in the barbarous ages. By virtue of this indulgence, they became agents for all the ſouthern parts of Europe.

The inhabitants of the north began likewiſe to awake from their lethargy; but their recovery was later, and effected with greater difficulty. Hamburgh and Lubec, having attempted to open a trade in the Baltic, were obliged to unite for their mutual defence againſt the pirates who infeſted thoſe latitudes. The ſucceſs of this little combination encouraged other towns to enter into the confederacy; in a ſhort time, this was compoſed of fourſcore cities, which had either obtained or purchaſed the privilege of being governed by their own laws, and formed a line of communication from the Baltic to the Rhine. This aſſociation, which was the firſt modern one that adopted a regular ſyſtem of commerce, ſupplied the Lombards with naval ſtores and other merchandiſe of the north, in exchange for the produce of Aſia, Italy, and other ſouthern countries.

Flanders was the ſcene of theſe fortunate tranſactions; but it was not to its ſituation alone that it owed a diſtinction ſo favourable to its intereſts: this muſt likewiſe be attributed to its numerous manufactures of fine cloth, and particularly of tapeſtry; which laſt affords a proof how little the arts of drawing and

BOOK I.

perſpective were then known. By theſe advantageous circumſtances, the Low-Countries became the richeſt, the moſt populous, and the beſt cultivated part of Europe.

The flouriſhing condition of the inhabitants of Flanders, the Hanſe Towns, and ſome republics, who owed their proſperity to their freedom, engaged the attention of moſt of the reigning monarchs, in whoſe dominions the right of citizens had hitherto been confined to the nobility and clergy; the reſt of their ſubjects were ſlaves. But as ſoon as the cities were declared free, and had large immunities granted them, the merchants and mechanics entered into aſſociations, which roſe in eſtimation as they acquired riches. The ſovereigns oppoſed theſe aſſociations to the barons. Thus anarchy and feudal tyranny gradually decreaſed. The tradeſmen became citizens, and the third order of the ſtate was reſtored to the privilege of being admitted to the national aſſembly.

Monteſquieu attributes to Chriſtianity the honour of having aboliſhed ſlavery; but we venture to differ from him. When induſtry and riches prevailed among the people, the princes began to hold them in ſome eſtimation; when the ſovereign could avail himſelf of the riches of the people, to gain advantages over the barons, laws were framed to put the people in a better condition. It was through that ſound policy, which commerce always introduces, and not through the ſpirit of the Chriſtian religion, that kings were induced to beſtow freedom upon the ſlaves of their vaſſals, becauſe thoſe ſlaves, when made free, became ſubjects. Pope Alexander III. it is true, declared that Chriſtians were to be exempt from ſervitude; but this declaration was made merely to pleaſe the kings of France and England, who were deſirous of humbling their vaſſals. Had he been inſpired by the love of juſtice and humanity, he would not have ſaid that the Chriſtian alone, but that Man in general, was not born for ſlavery. He would have ſaid, that the perſon, who is a voluntary ſlave, is a coward; that there are no lawful chains to

bind an unwilling ſlave; that he, who is not able to break theſe chains by force, is innocent in delivering himſelf from them by flight; and that his pretended maſter is an aſſaſſin, if he ſhould puniſh with death an action to which nature gives a ſanction. But the Chriſtian religion of the church of Rome is ſo far from prohibiting ſlavery, that, in the catholic countries of Germany, as in Bohemia and Poland, where the people are extremely bigotted to that communion, they are ſtill ſlaves; and the eccleſiaſtical juriſdictions in theſe parts have ſtill their bondſmen, as they formerly had in France, without incurring the cenſure of the church. BOOK I.

In Italy, one might perceive the dawn of more proſperous days. The republics of Piſa, Genoa, and Florence, were eſtabliſhed on the wiſeſt principles: the factions of the Guelphs and Gibbelines, which had for ſo many ages laid waſte theſe delightful countries, were at length appeaſed: trade flouriſhed, and conſequently learning would ſoon be introduced. Venice was in the height of its glory; its navy, which eclipſed that of its neighbours, checked the progreſs of the maritime power of the Mammelucs and the Turks; in commerce, it was ſuperior to all the European ſtates taken together; its inhabitants were numerous, and its riches immenſe; the revenues were well managed, and the people were content; the republic borrowed money of the richer ſubjects, from motives, not of neceſſity, but of policy. The Venetians were the firſt people who found out the ſecret of attaching rich individuals to the intereſt of government, by inviting them to veſt ſome part of their fortune in the public funds. At Venice, there were manufactures of ſilk, gold, and ſilver; it ſupplied foreigners with ſhips: its works in gold and ſilver were the beſt, and almoſt the only ones of that time. The inhabitants were even accuſed of extravagance in having gold and ſilver plate, and other utenſils of the ſame materials. They were not, however, without ſumptuary laws; but theſe laid no reſtraint on a ſpecies of luxury, by which the ſums expended were preſerved to the ſtate. The noblemen

BOOK I. united economy with ſplendour; the opulence of Venice revived the architecture of Athens; and, upon the whole, there was magnificence as well as elegance in their luxury: the people were ignorant, but the nobles were enlightened: the government oppoſed the attempts of the popes with firmneſs and prudence. *Siamo Veneziani, poi Chriſtiani*, ſaid one of their ſenators, who expreſſed in theſe words the ſenſe of the whole ſenate; for at that early period they debaſed the prieſthood, though they ſhould rather have made it uſeful to morality; which, however, was more rigid and pure among the Venetians than among the other people of Italy. Their troops were very different from thoſe miſerable *Condottieri*, whoſe name was ſo much more terrible than their arms. Venice was the ſeat of politeneſs; and ſociety was then under leſs reſtraint from ſtate inquiſitors, than it has been ſince the republic began to be jealous of the power of its neighbours, and diffident of its own ſtrength.

In the fifteenth century, Italy far ſurpaſſed the other ſtates of Europe. The moſt extravagant and moſt perſecuting ſpirit of ſuperſtition, which ſupplied the place of every kind of merit, and occaſioned ſo many ſecret artifices and cruel oppreſſions, was, however, the means of releaſing Spain gradually from the Arabian yoke; its ſeveral provinces had lately been united by the marriage of Ferdinand and Iſabella, and the conqueſt of Granada; and its power was even equal to that of France. The fine wool of Caſtile and Leon was prepared at Segovia, and the cloths manufactured from it, were ſold all over Europe, and even in Aſia. The perpetual efforts the Spaniards were obliged to make to preſerve their liberty, inſpired them with reſolution and confidence; their ſucceſs had elevated their minds; and, being unenlightened, they abandoned themſelves to all the enthuſiaſm of chivalry and religion. Confined to a peninſula, and having no immediate intercourſe with other nations, they deſpiſed them; and diſplayed that ſort of proud diſdain, which, either among individuals or communities, is uſually the characteriſtic

of ignorance. They were the only people that main- BOOK
tained a ſtanding body of infantry, which was excel- I.
lent. Having been for many ages involved in war, their ſoldiery was indiſputably ſuperior to that of the other ſtates of Europe.

The Portugueſe were nearly of the ſame kind of turn; but their monarchy was better regulated than that of Caſtile, and the adminiſtration was conducted with more eaſe after the reduction of the Moors by the conqueſt of Algarva.

In France, Lewis XI. had juſt lowered the power of the great vaſſals, raiſed that of the magiſtracy, and made the nobles ſubſervient to the laws. The people of France, growing leſs dependent on their lords, muſt neceſſarily become, in a ſhort time, more induſtrious, more active, and more reſpectable; but induſtry and commerce could not flouriſh on a ſudden. Reaſon muſt of courſe make but a ſlow progreſs in the midſt of thoſe commotions which were ſtill excited by the great, and under the reign of a prince devoted to the moſt abominable ſuperſtition. The barons were diſtinguiſhed only by their ſavage pomp; their revenues were ſcarce ſufficient to entertain in their ſuite a train of gentlemen without employment, who defended them againſt the ſovereign and the laws. The expences of their table were immoderate; and this barbarous luxury, of which there are ſtill too many remains, afforded no encouragement to any of the uſeful arts. But neither the manners nor the language of thoſe times partook of that decency which diſtinguiſhes the ſuperior ranks of citizens, and procures them reſpect from the reſt. Notwithſtanding the courteſy enjoined to the knights, courſe and rough manners ſtill prevailed among the great; the nation had then the ſame character of inconſiſtence it has ſince preſerved, and which a nation will ever have, whoſe morals and cuſtoms are not conformable to the laws. The councils iſſued innumerable, and frequently contradictory edicts; but the prince readily diſpenſed with the obſervance of them. By this eaſy diſpoſition of the ſovereign, the inconve-

BOOK I.

niencies which would have ariſen from a multitude of laws inconſiderately made by the French miniſtry, have been happily prevented.

England, leſs opulent, and leſs induſtrious than France, was compoſed of inſolent barons, deſpotic biſhops, and a people who were tired of their yoke; a certain reſtleſs diſpoſition prevailed in the nation, which muſt neceſſarily, ſooner or later, lead them on to liberty. This character owed its riſe to the abſurd tyranny of William the Conqueror, and the cruel diſpoſition of ſeveral of his ſucceſſors. The intolerable abuſe of power had made the Engliſh extremely jealous of their ſovereigns; the very name of king carried with it the idea of terror; and theſe ſentiments, tranſmitted from father to ſon, afterwards laid the foundation of that form of government they now have the happineſs to enjoy. The long contention between the houſes of York and Lancaſter, while it raiſed a martial ſpirit and an impatience of ſlavery, involved the nation, at the ſame time, in poverty and confuſion. The Engliſh wool was then manufactured in Flanders, and was exported, as well as its lead and tin, in veſſels belonging to the Hanſe Towns. The principles of navigation, of internal policy, juriſprudence, luxury, and the fine arts, were entirely unknown in England; at the ſame time that it was overburdened with a multitude of rich convents and hoſpitals. Theſe convents were the uſual reſort of the diſtreſſed nobles, as the hoſpitals were of the common people; idleneſs and barbarous manners were encouraged by theſe ſuperſtitious inſtitutions.

Germany, which had long been agitated by quarrels between the emperors and the popes, and by inteſtine wars, had at this time begun to enjoy a ſtate of tranquillity. Order had taken place of anarchy, and the inhabitants of this extenſive country, who, though ſtrangers to wealth and commerce, were verſed in the arts of war and agriculture, had nothing to fear from their neighbours, neither could they be formidable to them. The feudal ſyſtem, ſo fatal to mankind in other countries, here aſſumed a milder aſpect; the princes

preſiding over this large portion of the European continent, generally ſpeaking, governed their reſpective ſtates with a degree of moderation; they ſeldom abuſed their authority, and if the peaceable poſſeſſion of their inheritance could compenſate the want of liberty, the Germans were happy; commerce and induſtry were entirely confined to the free cities, and to the towns included in the Hanſeatic league; the mines of Hanover and Saxony were not yet diſcovered; money was ſcarce; the farmer ſold a few horſes to ſtrangers, nor had the princes yet introduced the traffic of the human ſpecies; the expences of the table, and a variety of equipages, were the only articles of luxury; the nobles and the clergy intoxicated themſelves, without diſturbing the government; it was with ſome difficulty that the gentry were diſſuaded from amuſing themſelves with robbing on the highways; their manners were ſavage, and, during the two ſucceeding centuries, the German troops were more diſtinguiſhed by their cruelties than by their diſcipline and bravery. BOOK I.

The northern countries had made leſs progreſs than Germany. Oppreſſed by the nobles and prieſts, the inhabitants no longer retained that enthuſiaſtic love of glory with which the religion of Wodin had formerly inſpired them; nor were they yet acquainted with thoſe wiſe inſtitutions which ſome of them have ſince borrowed from better forms of government. Their power was ſo inconſiderable, that a ſingle Hanſe Town was capable of intimidating the three potentates of the north. They recovered their national importance after the reformation, and under the auſpicies of Frederic and Guſtavus Vaſa.

The Turks were ſtrangers to the ſcience of government: they had no knowledge of the arts, nor taſte for commerce: But the Janiſſaries were the beſt troops in the world; and there wanted but one ſingle verſe to be added to the Coran, to make thoſe people, over whom religion has hitherto had ſo much influence, become the maſters of the world. If Mohammed, after having ſaid, *Thou ſhalt return to the enemy the month of*

BOOK I. *calamity for the month of calamity*, had added, *And thou ſhalt deſpiſe the vain knowledge of the ſtranger; the art of war is the only one thou ſhalt learn from him*; the freedom of Europe would then have been at an end. Whoever ſhall teach the perfection of the military art to the Turks, will be the common enemy of all nations. The Janiſſaries, thoſe attendants of a deſpot whom they keep in awe, or to whom they enſure reſpect; whom they fix upon the throne, or ſtrangle at pleaſure; had at that time ſome great men for their leaders. They ſubverted the empire of the Greeks, who were infatuated with theology, and ſtupified by ſuperſtition. Some of the inhabitants of this mild climate, who cultivated literature and the arts, abandoned their ſubjugated country, and took refuge in Italy; whither they were followed by manufacturers and traders. Competency, peace, proſperity, the ambition of excelling in every accompliſhment, and the deſire of new pleaſures, which is inſpired by good governments, favoured the revival of letters in the country of the ancient Romans; and the Greeks brought to the Italians a better knowledge of good models, and a taſte for antiquity. The art of printing was invented; and though for a long time the diſcovery was of little uſe, while the people continued in a ſtate of poverty and indolence, yet, when commerce and the arts had made ſome progreſs, it diffuſed the knowledge of books. A love of ſtudy prevailed, and the ancients were univerſally admired: but they had no rivals except in Italy.

Rome, which in every age has almoſt always aſſumed a character the beſt adapted to the preſent moment, ſeemed diſpoſed no longer to encourage that ignorance which had ſo long, and ſo materially been ſubſervient to her intereſts. She protected polite literature, and ſuch of the arts as depended more on imagination than reaſon. The moſt ignorant prieſt is well aware, that repreſentaions of a terrible divinity, mortification, ſelf-denial, auſterity, melancholy, and terror, are ſo many expedients to gain an aſcendant over the minds of men, by engaging them deeply in religious matters,

But there are times when theſe expedients have but little effect. Men who have grown rich in peaceful ſtates, are fond of enjoying themſelves; they diſlike the dull road of life, and are eager in their purſuit of pleaſures. When fairs began to be eſtabliſhed, with entertainments of ſports, dancing, and other recreations, the clergy, who obſerved that the love of feſtivity made the people leſs religious, prohibited theſe ſports, and excommunicated thoſe who bore a part in them. But finding that no regard was paid to their cenſures, they changed their plan, and determined to take theſe amuſements into their own hands. Such was the origin of ſacred comedy. The death of St. Catharine, acted by the monks of St. Denys, rivailed the ſucceſs of the players. Muſic was introduced into the churches; and even farces were exhibited there. The feſtivals called *la Fête des Foux et de l' Ane, et des Innocens*, proved as entertaining to the people, as the farces that were acted in the public places. It often happened that, attracted by the mere love of amuſement, they left the dances of the Gypſies, to join in the proceſſion for the feſtival of St. John. As the Italians improved in politeneſs, their pleaſures became more refined; and the decency that was introduced into their common feaſts and public entertainments, afforded leſs pretence for the cenſures of the prieſts, and procured them a toleration. The merit of being able to read had been long confined to this claſs of men; but when it became a more general accompliſhment, they could no longer avail themſelves of this diſtinction; and finding that learning was the road to fame, they were ambitious of ſhining in literary purſuits. The popes, who enjoyed an opulent and peaceful ſovereignty in the voluptuous region of Italy, laid aſide their auſterity. Their court became an agreeable one. The cultivation of literature was conſidered as a new expedient to eſtabliſh their authority over the minds of men. Genius was cheriſhed, and marks of honour were conferred upon great artiſts. Raphael died but a ſhort time before he was to have been cre-

BOOK I. ated a cardinal; and Petrarch had the honours of a triumph. As little conformable as this good taſte, and theſe new amuſements, may appear to the ſpirit of the goſpel, they were evidently calculated to promote the intereſt of the papal throne. The fine arts and learning ſerve to ornament this eccleſiaſtical ſtructure; but philoſophy demoliſhes it. Thus, while the church of Rome favoured polite literature and the fine arts, it diſcountenanced the more accurate ſciences. Poets were crowned with laurels; but philoſophers were perſecuted. Galileo from his priſon might have beholden Taſſo carried in triumph to the capitol, if thoſe men of great genius had been cotemporaries.

It was now time that philoſophy and learning ſhould lend their ſupport to morality and reaſon. The church of Rome had taken all imaginable pains to ſubvert thoſe principles of juſtice which nature had implanted in all mankind. The ſingle maxim, that the pope had a right to the ſovereignty of all empires, ſapped the foundation of all ſociety and public virtue: this maxim, however, had for a long time prevailed, together with that horrid doctrine, which not only permitted, but enjoined hatred and perſecution towards all whoſe religious opinions were not agreeable to thoſe of the Romiſh church. Indulgences, a ſpecies of expiation which might be purchaſed for all crimes, or if any thing can be ſtill more monſtrous, for crimes to be committed in future; diſpenſations for breaking faith with the enemies of the pontiff, though they were of the ſame religion; that article of belief which teaches, that the merit of the juſt may be transferred to the wicked; vices of all kinds exemplified in the lives of the popes, and other religious perſons, who ought to have ſet examples to the people; above all, that greateſt reproach to humanity, the inquiſition: all theſe horrid enormities made Europe appear to be rather the haunt of tygers and ſerpents, than a vaſt country inhabited or cultivated by men.

Such was the ſtate of Europe, when the Portugueſe monarch, at the head of an active, generous, and in-

telligent people, ſurrounded by neighbours who ſtill preyed upon each other, formed a plan of extending his dominions by ſea and land.

It was an opinion generally prevailing, that it was impoſſible to ſail acroſs the Atlantic Ocean; and that the weſtern coaſts of Africa, ſcorched by the torrid zone, were uninhabitable. This prejudice might have been removed, by conſulting ſome writings of antiquity, which had been ſaved from the deſtructive hand of time, and the devaſtations of ignorance: but men at that period were not ſufficiently converſant with theſe learned works, to diſcover truths in them which are not very diſtinctly ſpoken of. Our information upon theſe important objects, was to proceed from the Moors and the Arabs, who had already communicated ſo much knowledge to Europe. Theſe people, ſailing acroſs a ſea that was deemed impracticable, drew immenſe riches from a country ſuppoſed to be on fire. Some expeditions, undertaken to Barbary, brought the ſource of their good fortune to light; and it was reſolved to go in ſearch of it. This project was formed by adventurers of all nations; but Henry, ſon of John I. king of Portugal, was the only one who adopted wiſe meaſures in the purſuit of it.

First voyages of the Portugueſe into thoſe ſeas where it was ſuppoſed the iſland of Atalantis formerly was.

This prince availed himſelf of the little knowledge which was preſerved among the Arabs. At Sagrés, a city of Algarva, an obſervatory was eſtabliſhed by his orders, where the young noblemen compoſing his court were inſtructed. He had a conſiderable ſhare in the invention of the Aſtrolabe, and was the firſt who was ſenſible of the advantages that might be drawn from the compaſs, which, though already known in Europe, had never been applied to the purpoſes of navigation.

The pilots who ſtudied under his direction, in the year 1419 diſcovered Madeira, which ſome learned men have conſidered as the poor remains of the iſland anciently called Atalantis. But it is a queſtion, whether there ever was ſuch an iſland; and if ſo, what was its ſituation and extent? Theſe are points upon

BOOK I. which we may form our opinion, according to the degree of confidence we place in Diodorus Siculus and Plato, and according to the manner in which we interpret what they ſay upon the ſubject. 'After having gone over the iſlands in the neighbourhood of 'the pillars of Hercules,' ſays the firſt of theſe writers, 'we proceed to ſpeak of thoſe which are further advanced in the ocean, going towards the weſt. In 'the ſea bordering upon Lybia, there is one very famous iſland, at the diſtance of ſeveral days ſail from 'the continent.'

Diodorus then enlarges upon the population, manners, laws, fertility, and remarkable things of this iſland; after which, he continues thus:

'In the moſt remote times of antiquity, this iſland 'was diſcovered by the Phœnicians. They paſſed the 'pillars of Hercules, and ſailed into the ocean. Near 'theſe pillars they founded Gadeïra, or Cadix. They 'had ſailed through the ſeas beyond the pillars, and 'along the coaſt of Lybia, when they were overtaken 'by a violent ſtorm, which threw them out at ſea into 'the main ocean. After having experienced ſeveral 'days of bad weather, they arrived at the aforemen'tioned iſland. They publiſhed an account of this 'voyage, and formed the project of a ſettlement in 'this new country; but the Carthaginians oppoſed it, 'apprehending that it would depopulate their coun'try.'

Let us now conſider what is become of this iſland, which is no longer to be found. We may, perhaps, learn this from Plato.

In his dialogue intituled Timæus, Critias addreſſes himſelf to Socrates in the following terms: 'Solon 'was the intimate friend of Dropidas, our anceſtor. 'Dropidas regretted much, that public affairs had di'verted Solon from the turn he had for poetry, and 'had prevented him from finiſhing his poem upon the 'Atalantis. He had brought the ſubject of it with 'him from his voyage into Egypt. Solon uſed to ſay, 'that the inhabitants of Saïs, a city ſituated at the

'point of the Delta, at the place where the Nile di-
'vides itſelf into two branches, thought themſelves to
'be ſprung from the Athenians, whoſe lance, ſword,
'buckler, and other arms, they had preſerved among
'them.' To this opinion prevailing in the iſland, he
'attributes the honours he received from the inhabi-
'tants: there it was, that this legiſlator, poet, and
'philoſopher, converſing with the prieſts, and enter-
'taining them with accounts of Prometheus, the firſt
'of mankind, of Niobe, of the deluge of Deucalion,
'and other ſimilar traditions, one of the prieſts ex-
'claimed, "O Solon, Solon! you Greeks are ſtill in
"a ſtate of infancy; there is not a ſingle old man
"amongſt you. You miſtake emblematical fables for
"facts. You have no knowledge but of one deluge;
"which, however, has been preceded by many others.
"It is a long time ſince Athens hath exiſted. It is a
"long time that it hath been civilized. It is a long
"time that its name hath been famous in Egypt, on
"account of exploits of which you are ignorant; and
"the hiſtory of which is conſigned in our archives.
"There it is, that you may inform yourſelf of the an-
"tiquities of your city."

The prieſt, after having explained, in a very ſenſi-
ble and beautiful manner, the cauſes of the ignorance
of the Greeks, proceeds in the following manner:

"There it is, that you will learn how glorioufly the
"Athenians, in ancient times, ſubdued a formidable
"power that had diſperſed itſelf in Europe and Aſia,
"by a ſudden irruption of warriors iſſuing from the
"midſt of the Atlantic Ocean. A conſiderable ex-
"tent of land, ſituated oppoſite to the mouth of the
"ſtrait called the Pillars of Hercules, was ſurrounded
"by this ſea. It was a region more extenſive than
"Aſia and Lybia taken together. Between this coun-
"try and the ſtrait, there was a number of other ſmall-
"er iſlands.

"The country of which I have been ſpeaking to
"you, or the iſland Atalantis, was governed by con-
"federate ſovereigns. In an expedition of theirs, they

BOOK I.

"ſeized upon Lybia, as far as Egypt, on one ſide; "and on the other, upon all the countries as far as "Tyrrhenia. We were all ſlaves; and your anceſtors "were the perſons who recovered our liberty. They "led their fleets againſt the inhabitants of this iſland, "and defeated them. But a greater misfortune than "this ſtill awaited them. A ſhort time after, their "whole iſland was ſunk; and this territory, more ex-"tenſive than Europe and Aſia taken together, diſap-"peared in an inſtant."

What a fund for reflection doth not this quotation afford us? A heap of moving ſands is the ſpot upon which man repoſes, or exerts his faculties: he ruſhes, by his projects, into eternity; while a concurrence of fatal cauſes may unfold itſelf in an inſtant, and annihilate him, together with the ſuperb edifices he hath erected.

One circumſtance that contributes to ſtrengthen the two preceding teſtimonies, is, that the ſea which at this day bears the name of Atlantic, is not of any conſiderable depth; and that, at a great diſtance from its ſhores, we find the varec, and other marine ſubſtances, which indicate the exiſtence of an ancient continent.

Diſcovery of Madeira.—Preſent ſtate of the iſland.

But whether this country were real or imaginary, ſtill there is a tradition which has gained much credit, that, at the arrival of the Portugueſe, the iſland of Madeira was covered with foreſts; that theſe were ſet on fire; that they continued burning during the whole courſe of ſeven years; and that, at the end of that period, the ſoil was found to be of an extraordinary fertility. According to the calculation of the year 1768, the Portugueſe have formed upon this territory, which is five and twenty miles in length, and ten in breadth, a population of ſixty-three thouſand nine hundred and thirteen ſouls, of all ages, and of both ſexes; which are diſtributed in forty-three pariſhes, and ſeven ſmall towns, beſide the town of Funchal, built with no great ſhare of taſte, upon the ſouthern coaſt, in a fertile valley, and at the foot of

ſome mountains, the gentle ſlope of which is covered with gardens and very agreeable villas. The city is traverſed by ſeven or eight rivulets, more or leſs conſiderable. Its road, which is the only ſpot where it is allowed to load and unload ſhips, and, conſequently, the only one where the cuſtoms are ſettled, is very ſafe during moſt of the year. When it happens, which is very ſeldom, that the winds blow from between the ſouth-eaſt and the weſt-north-weſt quarter, paſſing by the ſouth, it is neceſſary to go out of this road; but it is a fortunate circumſtance, that the bad weather may be foreſeen four and twenty hours previous to its coming on.

The gaps in the mountains, the blackiſh colour of the ſtones, and the lava mixed with the ſoil, are all ſo many indications of an ancient volcano on this ſpot. Accordingly, there is very little corn gathered here; and the inhabitants are obliged to draw from foreign parts three-fourths of what they conſume.

The vineyards are the only reſource of the inhabitants. They occupy the declivity of ſeveral mountains, the ſummits of which are planted with cheſnut trees. Rows of pomegranate, orange, lemon, myrtle, and wild roſe trees, fill up the intermediate ſpace. The grapes uſually grow under bowers, and ripen in the ſhade. The trees which produce them, are watered by numberleſs rivulets, which, iſſuing from the heights, do not loſe themſelves in the plains, till after they have gone through an infinite number of windings among the plantations. Some of the proprietors have acquired or uſurped the right of turning theſe ſtreams conſtantly to their advantage; others have them only once, twice, or thrice in a week. Thoſe, even, who want to plant a new vineyard under a burning climate, and in a dry ſoil, where watering is indiſpenſably neceſſary, cannot partake of this privilege, without purchaſing it at a very high price.

The produce of the vines is always divided into ten ſhares: one belongs to the king, another to the cler-

BOOK I.

gy, four parts to the proprietor, and as many to the cultivator.

The iſland brings forth ſeveral ſorts of wine. The beſt and ſcarceſt ſort is drawn from a plant brought originally from Candia. It has a delicious kind of ſweetneſs, is known by the name of Malmſey Madeira, and is ſold for one hundred piſtoles [41l. 13s. 4d. at 8s. 4d. the piſtole] the pipe. The Madeira, which is dry, does not coſt more than ſix or ſeven hundred livres [from 25l. to 29l. and upwards]; and the principal vent for it is in England. The wines of an inferior quality, and the pipe of which does not exceed four or five hundred livres [from 16l. to 20l. and upwards], are deſtined for the Eaſt Indies, for certain iſlands, and for the continent of North America.

The vintages commonly yield about thirty thouſand pipes. Thirteen or fourteen thouſand of the beſt wines are diſperſed in different parts of the globe: the reſt is conſumed in the country, or changed into vinegar and brandy, for the conſumption of the Brazils.

The public revenue here is raiſed by tithes generally laid upon all productions; by a tax of 10 *per cent.* upon every article of import, and 12 *per cent.* upon every article of export. Theſe objects, taken together, yield a revenue of 2,700,000 livres [112,500l.]. Such, however, are the vices of adminiſtration, that ſcarce any part of this conſiderable ſum returns to the mother country.

The colony is governed by a chief, whoſe dominion extends likewiſe over Porto-Santo, in which there are no more than ſeven hundred inhabitants, and ſome vineyards; over the ſalvages, which are ſtill leſs profitable; and over ſome other ſmall iſlands, which are entirely uninhabited, except in fiſhing ſeaſons. For the defence of this important ſettlement, the governor is allowed no more than one hundred regular troops; but he has three thouſand militia at his diſpoſal, who are aſſembled and exerciſed for one month in every

year. The whole of this corps, both officers and private men, ſerve without pay; nor are the poſts leſs ſolicited for on that account. They entitle thoſe who obtain them to ſome diſtinctions of rank, of which people are more eager in this iſland, than in any other part of the world.

Voyages of the Portugueſe to the continent of Africa.

After the diſcovery of Madeira, the Portugueſe directed their flag towards the weſtern parts of Africa. It has generally been thought, that they were the firſt Europeans who landed on theſe barbarous coaſts. It appears, however, that the Normans had been there more than a century before them; and that theſe navigators, whoſe expeditions are but too little known, had formed ſome trifling ſettlements there, which had ſubſiſted till the year 1410. At this period, the calamities in which France was involved, withdrew the attention of theſe people from advantages obtained at ſo great a diſtance.

The firſt expeditions of the Portugueſe into Guinea were nothing more than piracies. Theſe bold and cruel navigators, clothed in ſteel, and armed with thunder, ſnatched from the hands of a people who were aſtoniſhed, divided, and daſtardly, the benefits that nature or chance had beſtowed upon them. Rapine, carried to ſo monſtrous an exceſs, was at length put an end to; and this was when the people came to underſtand each other. Then it was that trade ſucceeded to plunder; and ſome exchanges were made, which, however, were ſeldom conducted with entire freedom, or founded on ſtrict juſtice. At length, the court of Liſbon thought that its intereſt, as well as its glory, was concerned, in ſubjecting thoſe that were ſuppoſed to be the moſt fertile parts of this extenſive region to its own empire; and the execution of this project, more brilliant, perhaps, than it was wiſe, met with few obſtacles. In order to give a degree of ſtability to theſe conqueſts, it was judged neceſſary to multiply fortreſſes, to diffuſe the religion of Europe throughout the country, and to keep the natives in perpetual ignorance.

BOOK I. In the reign of John II., an intelligent prince, who firſt declared Liſbon a free port, and under whoſe auſpices a new method was adopted of applying aſtronomy to navigation, the Portugueſe doubled the Cape, which is at the extremity of Africa. It was then called the Cape of Storms; but the prince, who foreſaw that it would open a paſſage to India, gave it the name of the Cape of Good Hope.

Arrival of the Portugueſe in the Eaſt Indies.

Emanuel purſued the plan marked out by his predeceſſors. On the 18th of July 1497, he ſent out a fleet, conſiſting of four ſhips, and gave the command of it to *Vaſco de Gama*. This admiral, having weathered ſeveral ſtorms in his cruiſe along the eaſtern coaſts of Africa, and attempted ſeas before unknown, landed at length in Indoſtan, after a voyage of thirteen months.

A geographical deſcription of Aſia.

Aſia, of which Indoſtan is one of the richeſt parts, is a vaſt continent, lying, according to the obſervations of the Ruſſians, the truth of which has been juſtly doubted, between the 43d and the 207th degree of longitude. It extends, in a direction from one pole to the other, from the 77th degree of northern to the 10th degree of ſouthern latitude. That part of this large continent which is ſituated in the temperate zone, between the 35th and 50th degree of latitude, appears to be higher than the reſt. It is bordered, both towards the north and ſouth, by two vaſt chains of mountains, which run almoſt from the weſtern extremity of Aſia Minor and the coaſts of the Black Sea, to the ocean that waſhes the coaſts of China and Tartary towards the eaſt. Theſe two chains are united by other intermediate chains, in a direction from ſouth to north; they branch out towards the Northern, the Indian, and Eaſtern oceans, and appear like ſo many bulwarks raiſed between the beds of the large rivers which roll through theſe immenſe regions.

Such is the great baſis which Nature has raiſed to ſupport the fabric of Aſia. In the inland parts of this vaſt country, the earth is nothing more than a moveable ſand, yielding to the impulſe of the winds; there

is not the leaſt appearance either of calcareous ſtone or marble; no petrified ſhells, or other foſſils, are to be found; the beds of minerals lie upon the ſurface. All theſe phenomena, joined to the obſervations made with the barometer, are proofs of the great elevation of this central part of Aſia, to which the moderns have given the name of the Little Bucharia. BOOK I.

From theſe heights, which form a kind of girdle, ſurrounding this immenſe and unfruitful region, ſeveral large ſtreams ariſe, that run in different channels. The fragments of barren earth, which are perpetually carried down by theſe rivers towards the ſeveral extremities of Aſia, form ſo many barriers againſt the ſea, and promiſe a ſtability and duration to this continent, ſuperior to that of any other. Perhaps it will be its fate to ſee the reſt repeatedly buried under the waters, before it ſuffers any encroachment itſelf.

The Caſpian Sea alone has preſerved its ſtation within the limits of this vaſt tract of land, which has been emerging from the deep through a ſeries of ages. It is evidently the reſervoir of thoſe large rivers that fall into it. Some philoſophers have imagined, but without any foundation, that it communicated with the ocean and the Black Sea by ſubterraneous paſſages. Againſt ſuch conjectures it may be urged, that the evaporation would be ſufficient to carry off the water as faſt as it was conveyed there by the rivers; and that theſe ſubterraneous paſſages might eaſily be obſtructed by the mud and ſand which the waters would carry along with them. It is for this reaſon, alſo, that the Caſpian Sea is ſalt, as all the lakes are which receive the waters of rivers without pouring them out again. It appears certain, from the obſervations made with the barometer at Aſtracan, that the ſurface of the Caſpian is below the level of the two neighbouring ſeas; conſequently, it is equally probable that it ſhould communicate with thoſe ſeas by overflowings from their ſurface, as that it ſhould furniſh them with water by means of ſubterraneous canals.

BOOK I. The Frozen Ocean, which extends along the northern coaſts of Siberia, renders them inacceſſible, if we may believe the accounts given by the Ruſſians. They tell us, that it is in vain to expect to find a new paſſage by this ſea from Europe to America; and that the ice will always prevent the doubling of the Cape of Schalaginſkoi, which ſeparates the old from the new world, though this paſſage has once been croſſed. But the Ruſſians are probably not ſincere enough, or not ſufficiently informed, to deſerve entire credit; and either tell us more or leſs than the truth.

The Indian Ocean, which bears towards the ſouth of Aſia, is divided from the Great South Sea by a chain of mountains, which begins at the iſland of Madagaſcar, and extending under water as far as Sumatra (as is evident from the ſhallows and rocks which are ſcattered in thoſe parts), unites again at Van Diemen's Land and New Guinea. M. Buache, a geographer, who has examined the earth as a natural philoſopher, and has laid down a chart of the world according to this hypotheſis, is of opinion, that the ſea between this long chain of iſlands and the ſouthern coaſts of Aſia, ſhould be divided into three great baſons; the limits of which ſeem to have been circumſcribed or drawn by the hand of Nature.

The firſt, lying towards the weſt, between Arabia and Perſia, is bounded to the ſouth by that chain of iſlands which extends from Cape Comorin and the Maldivia Iſlands to Madagaſcar. This baſon, which runs into the land, is inceſſantly enlarging the Gulf of Perſia and the Red Sea. The ſecond of theſe baſons forms the Gulf of Bengal. The third includes the Great Archipelago, which contains the Sunda, the Moluccas, and the Philippine Iſlands. This joins Aſia to the ſouthern continent, which ſerves as a kind of ſupport to the Pacific Ocean. Between this ſea and the Great Archipelago, a kind of new baſon is formed by a chain of mountains under water towards the eaſt, which extends from the Ladrone to the Japan Iſlands. When we have paſſed theſe celebrated iſlands, we

ſome to a chain of iſlands, called the Kuriles; which touch the ſouthern point of the peninſula of Kamtſchatka, and form a fifth baſon, into which the river Amur empties itſelf; but as its entrance is obſtructed by the bamboos, which grow there in great abundance, it is imagined that this ſea has very little depth.

Theſe geographical details, far from being foreign to our purpoſe, are in a manner neceſſary to direct and engage our attention to the richeſt and fineſt continent upon the globe. We will begin with Indoſtan.

Though by the general name of the Eaſt Indies is commonly underſtood that immenſe tract of land which lies beyond the Arabian Sea and the Perſian empire, yet by Indoſtan is properly meant a country lying between two celebrated rivers, the Indus and the Ganges, which fall into the Indian Ocean, at the diſtance of four hundred leagues from each other. A ridge of high mountains runs acroſs this long tract from north to ſouth, and, dividing it into two equal parts, extends as far as Cape Comorin, where it forms the boundary between the coaſts of Malabar and Coromandel.

Natural hiſtory of Indoſtan.

It is a remarkable circumſtance, and perhaps the only one of the kind, that this ridge ſeems to be a barrier, erected by Nature, to ſeparate one ſeaſon from another. The mere breadth of theſe mountains divides ſummer from winter, that is to ſay, the ſeaſon of fine weather from that of rain; for it is well known there is no winter between the tropics: all that is meant by winter in India is that time of the year when the clouds, which the ſun attracts from the ſea, are driven violently by the winds againſt the mountains, where they break and diſſolve in rain, accompanied with frequent ſtorms. From hence torrents are formed, which ruſh from the hills, ſwell the rivers, and overflow the valleys; dark vapours, that obſcure the day, and ſpread a thick and impenetrable gloom over the deluged country: but, as the chaos which brooded over the principles of things before the creation, this cloudy ſeaſon promotes fertility; for at

BOOK I.

this time the plants and flowers appear in full ſtrength and beauty, and the fruits, in general, come to maturity.

The ſummer may naturally be expected to preſerve its uſual temperature better than the winter, in a climate ſo immediately under the influence of the ſun: the ſky, without a cloud to intercept its rays, ſeems to be all on fire; but the ſea-breezes which ſpring up in the day-time, and the land-breezes that blow during the night, alternately alleviate the heat of the atmoſphere; yet the calms, that now and then intervene, ſtifle theſe refreſhing gales, and the inhabitants are reduced to ſuffer the inconveniencies of exceſſive drought.

The effect of the two different ſeaſons is ſtill more remarkably felt in the two Indian oceans, where they are diſtinguiſhed by the name of the dry and rainy monſoons. While the ſea that waſhes the coaſts of Malabar is agitated by ſtorms, which the returning ſun introduces with the ſpring, the ſlighteſt veſſels ſail ſecurely along the coaſt of Coromandel upon a ſmooth ſurface, and require neither ſkill nor precaution in their pilots; but in the autumn, which in its turn changes the face of the elements, the weſtern coaſt enjoys a perfect calm, while the eaſtern Indian ocean is toſſed by tempeſts; each experiencing, as it were, the alternatives of peace and war. An inhabitant of the iſland of Ceylon, who contemplates the equatorial region at the two equinoxes, beholds the ſeas on the right hand and on the left alternately agitated with ſtorms, or lulled into tranquillity; as if the Author of Nature, in theſe two inſtants of equilibrium, turned at once the ſcales of good and evil, which he holds perpetually in his hands. It is not improbable, that in India, where the two empires of good and evil are divided only by a partition of mountains, the doctrine of the two principles might take its riſe; a doctrine which will never perhaps be entirely effaced from the mind of man, while he remains ignorant of the profound views of the Almighty Being who created the univerſe. Till a number of obſcure queſtions can be

reſolved, reſpecting the neceſſity of creating the world at a certain period of time; reſpecting the ſeeming imperfections in this moſt admirable ſyſtem of things; reſpecting the ſufferings of the good, and the proſperity of the wicked; reſpecting the numberleſs calamities of nature which fall indiſcriminately upon the innocent as well as on the guilty; man will ſtill be inclined to worſhip Oromaſis or Arima, in proportion as he has experienced the effects of good or evil in this life: ſince pain and pleaſure ſeem to be as much the origin of the different forms of worſhip, as they are of the ideas of mankind. There is ſo infinite a connection between natural and moral principles, that all ſyſtems of importance to the happineſs of the human ſpecies have taken their colour from the nature of the climate: accordingly, it is obſervable, that the Indians, whoſe imaginations receive the deepeſt impreſſion of nature from the more forcible operation of good and evil, and the view they conſtantly have of the diſcord of the elements, are placed in a ſituation moſt fertile in revolutions, events, and tranſactions of every kind.

Antiquity of Indoſtan.

Hence it is, that the celebrated countries of India have long engaged the attention of the philoſopher and the hiſtorian, whoſe conjectures have aſſigned to their earlieſt inhabitants an era of the moſt extraordinary antiquity. To ſay the truth, whether we conſult hiſtorical records, or conſider the poſition of Indoſtan upon the globe, connected as it is by a chain of mountains to the moſt elevated part of the continent, which is alſo at the greateſt diſtance from the encroachments of the ſea, we ſhall readily acknowledge, that the inhabitants of this country are placed in a greater ſtate of ſecurity than in any other part of the globe, and that Indoſtan has been that part of the earth that was firſt inhabited. We may trace the origin of moſt of the ſciences in the hiſtory of that country. Even before the age of Pythagoras, the Greeks travelled to India for inſtruction; the trade carried on by the Indians with the oldeſt commercial nations, in exchange

BOOK I.

for their cloth, is a proof of their great progreſs in the arts of induſtry.

Upon the whole, it ſhould ſeem reaſonable to conclude, that a part of the globe, the beſt adapted to the human ſpecies, would be peopled the earlieſt; and that the firſt men would be induced to fix their abode in a delicious climate, pure air, and on a ſoil too fertile to require much cultivation. If the human race could be ſuppoſed to multiply and extend themſelves in thoſe horrid regions, where they muſt maintain a perpetual ſtruggle with nature: if they could inhabit burning ſands, impracticable moraſſes, and regions of perpetual ice; or frequent deſerts and foreſts, where they muſt defend themſelves againſt the violence of the elements, and the attacks of wild beaſts: how eaſily might they not form themſelves into ſocieties in theſe delightful countries, where mankind, exempt from neceſſity, has nothing to purſue but pleaſure; where, enjoying without labour or anxiety the choiceſt productions, and the moſt glorious proſpect of the great ſcene of nature, they might juſtly aſſume the diſtinguiſhing title of Lords of the Creation! Theſe beautiful ſcenes preſent themſelves on the banks of the Ganges, and in the plains of Indoſtan. The air is perfumed with the moſt delicious fruits, which afford a wholeſome and refreſhing nouriſhment; the trees form a ſhade impenetrable to the rays of the ſun. While the living animals that are diſperſed over the globe, cannot ſubſiſt in other parts without deſtroying each other, they ſhare in India, in common with their maſter, the ſweets of plenty and ſecurity. Even at this day, when the earth may be ſuppoſed to have been exhauſted by the productions of ſo many ages, and their conſumption in foreign countries, Indoſtan, if we except a few ſandy and barren diſtricts, is ſtill the moſt fruitful country in the world.

Religion, government, legiſlation,

The ſyſtem of morals in this country is no leſs extraordinary than that of nature. When we fix our eyes on this vaſt region, where Nature hath exerted

her utmoſt efforts for the happineſs of man, we cannot but regret that man hath done all in his power to oppoſe her. The rage of conqueſt, and what is no leſs deſtructive an evil, the greedineſs of traders, have, in their turns, ravaged and oppreſſed the fineſt country on the face of the globe. BOOK I. manners, and cuſtoms of Indoſtan.

Among the numbers of ſavage banditti, and other ſtrangers, whom war or the deſire of gain has invited to India, it is eaſy to diſtinguiſh the ancient inhabitants. There is not, however, ſo much difference in the caſt of complexion and outward appearance of theſe people, as in the particularities of their character; oppreſſed as they have been with the yoke of tyranny, or rather of the wildeſt anarchy, they have not adopted either the manners, the laws, or the religion of their maſters. Their continual experience of all the horrors of war, all the exceſſes and vices of which human nature is capable, has not tainted their character. Nothing has ever been able to reconcile the tender, humane, and timorous Indian to ſcenes of blood, or to animate him with the courage and ſpirit of rebellion. His vices ariſe ſolely from a weak mind.

The judicious traveller, who, paſſing over the plains of Egypt, ſees trunks of columns, mutilated ſtatues, broken entablatures, and immenſe pyramids that have eſcaped the ravages of war and time, diſperſed about the country, is loſt in admiration at the view of the ruins of a nation which no longer exiſts. He cannot now find out the ſituation of Thebes, that city ſo celebrated in antiquity for its hundred gates; but the venerable remains of its temples and of its tombs, give him a higher idea of its magnificence, than the deſcriptions of Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus.

When we attentively examine the accounts given by travellers of the manners of the natives of India, we ſeem to wander among heaps of ruins, the remains of an immenſe fabric. The original form is loſt; but enough is preſerved, to convince us of the magnificence and regularity of the plans. Amidſt a variety of abſurd ſuperſtitions, puerile and extravagant cuſtoms,

BOOK I. ſtrange ceremonies and prejudices, we may diſcover the veſtiges of ſublime morality, deep philoſophy, and refined policy; but when we attempt to trace the religious and civil inſtitutions to their origin, we find that it is loſt in the maze of antiquity. By the moſt ancient traditions, the Indians appear to have been the firſt who received the rudiments of ſcience, and the poliſh of civilization.

The emperor Mahmoud Akbar had an inclination to make himſelf acquainted with the principles of all the religious ſects throughout his extenſive provinces. Having diſcarded the ſuperſtitious notions with which he had been prepoſſeſſed by his education in the Mohammedan faith, he reſolved to judge for himſelf. It was eaſy for him to be acquainted with the nature of thoſe ſyſtems that are formed upon the plan of making proſelytes; but he found himſelf diſappointed in his deſign, when he came to treat with the Indians, who will not admit any perſon whatever to the participation of their myſteries.

Neither the authority nor promiſes of Akbar could prevail with the Bramins to diſcloſe the tenets of their religion: he was therefore obliged to have recourſe to artifice. The ſtratagem he made uſe of, was, to cauſe an infant, of the name of Feizi, to be committed to the care of theſe prieſts, as a poor orphan of the ſacerdotal line, who alone could be initiated into the ſacred rites of their theology. Feizi, having received the proper inſtructions for the part he was to act, was conveyed privately to Benares, the ſeat of knowledge in Indoſtan. He was received into the houſe of a learned Bramin, who educated him with the ſame care as if he had been his ſon. After the youth had ſpent ten years in ſtudy, Akbar was deſirous of recalling him; but he was ſtruck with the charms of the daughter of his preceptor.

The women of the ſacerdotal tribe are looked upon as the greateſt beauties in Indoſtan. The old Bramin laid no reſtraint on the growing paſſion of the two lovers; he was fond of Feizi, who had gained his af-

fection by his addreſs and docility, and offered him his daughter in marriage. The young man, divided between love and gratitude, reſolved to conceal the fraud no longer; and falling at the feet of the Bramin, diſcovered the impoſture, and aſked pardon for his offence.

The prieſt, without reproaching him in the leaſt, ſeized a poniard which hung at his girdle, and was going to plunge it in his breaſt, if Feizi had not prevented him by taking hold of his arm. The young man uſed every means to pacify him, and declared himſelf ready to do any thing to expiate his treachery. The Bramin, burſting into tears, promiſed to pardon him on condition that he ſhould ſwear never to tranſlate the *Bedas*, or ſacred volumes, or diſcloſe to any perſon whatever the ſymbol of the Bramin creed. Feizi readily promiſed all that the Bramin required: and it is probable that he kept his word.

From time immemorial, the Bramins, ſole depoſitories of the books, learning and regulations, civil as well as religious, had kept them as a ſecret which the appearance of death, accompanied with torture, could never force them to diſcloſe. There was no kind of terror, no means of ſeduction, to which they had not reſiſted; when very lately, Mr. Haſtings, Governor General of the India Company ſettled at Bengal, the moſt enlightened man of all the Europeans who have viſited the eaſt, became poſſeſſed of the Indian Code. He bribed ſome of the Bramins, and made others ſenſible of the ridicule and the inconveniences of this myſterious reſerve. Thoſe old men, whom experience and ſtudy had raiſed above the prejudices of their caſt, liſtened to his repreſentations, in hopes of obtaining a freer exerciſe of their religion and laws. Theſe perſons amounted to eleven in number; the eldeſt of whom was more than fourſcore years of age, and the youngeſt not leſs than five and thirty. They conſulted eighteen original Shanſcrit authors; and the collection of ſentences they gathered from them being tranſlated into Perſian, under the inſpection of the

BOOK I. Bramins, was turned from Perſian into Engliſh, by Mr. Halhed. The compilers of the code unanimouſly refuſed agreeing to two propoſals; one to ſuppreſs ſome ſcandalous paragraphs, the other to inſtruct Mr. Halhed in the ſacred dialect; ſo true it is, that the ſpirit of prieſthood is every where the ſame; and that at all times the prieſt, either from motives of intereſt, or pride, is deſirous of keeping the people in ignorance. In order that the work might appear with every poſſible accuracy, and that it might have every ſanction that could be expected, the moſt learned of the Pundits, or Bramin lawyers, were called up from different parts of Bengal. The abridged hiſtory of the creation of the world, and of the firſt formation of the caſts, ſuch as theſe religious compilers have related it at the head of this civil code, is compriſed in the following terms:—

Brama delights in the peculiar form of worſhip that is obſerved in different countries. He attends to the pious man in the moſque, who counts his beads over while he ſays his prayers. He is preſent in the temples, and at the adoration of the idols. He is the intimate of the Muſſulman, and the friend of the Indian; the companion of the Chriſtian, and the confidant of the Jew. Thoſe men whom he hath endowed with an elevated ſoul, ſee nothing in the oppoſition of ſects, and the diverſity of religious worſhips, but one of the effects of the richneſs he hath diſplayed in the work of the creation.

The Principle of Truth, or the Supreme Being, having firſt formed the earth, and the heavens, and the water, and the fire, and the air, produced Brama. Brama is the Spirit of God. He is abſorbed in ſelf-contemplation. He is preſent in every part of ſpace. He is one, and to him there is no ſecond. His omniſcience is ſelf-inſpired, or ſelf-intelligent, and its comprehenſion includes every poſſible ſpecies. He is ſubject to no change, nor to the diſtinctions of paſt, preſent, and future. He is an independent being, and ſeparated from the univerſe. By this omniſcient ſpi-

rit, the operations of God are enlivened, and the twenty-four powers of nature are animated. As the eye by the ſun, as the pot by the fire, as iron by the magnet, as fire by the fuel, as the ſhadow by the man, as duſt by the wind, as the arrow by the ſpring of the bow, and as the ſhade by the tree; ſo by this ſpirit the world is endued with the powers of intellect, the powers of the will, and the powers of action. If this ſpirit emanate from the heart, by the channel of the ear, it cauſeth the perception of ſounds; if it emanate from the heart by the channel of the ſkin, it cauſeth the perception of the touch; if it emanate from the heart by the channel of the eye, it cauſeth the perception of viſible objects; if it emanate from the heart by the channel of the tongue, it cauſeth the perception of taſte; if it emanate from the heart by the channel of the noſe, it cauſeth the perception of ſmell. This ſpirit alſo invigorating the five members of action, and invigorating the five members of perception, and invigorating the five elements, and invigorating the five ſenſes, and invigorating the three diſpoſitions of the mind, &c. cauſeth the creation, or the annihilation of the univerſe; while itſelf beholds every thing as an indifferent ſpectator. Such is the doctrine of the Reig Beid.

Brama afterwards created from his mouth, wiſdom, or the Bramin; whoſe office is to pray, to read, and to inſtruct; from his arms he created ſtrength, or the Chehteree, whoſe buſineſs it is to draw the bow, to fight, and to govern; from his belly and thighs he created nouriſhment, or the Bice, to provide the neceſſaries of life by agriculture and traffic; and from his feet he created ſubjection, or the Sooder, to labour, to ſerve, and to travel.

The diſtinction of the four firſt caſts is therefore as ancient as the world, and of divine inſtitution.

Brama afterwards produced in the world mankind, which were to fill up theſe four caſts; and beaſts innumerable, and birds, and vegetables, and all inanimate things, and the virtues and the vices. He pre-

BOOK I. ſcribed to each caſt its duties, and theſe duties are for-ever recorded in the ſacred books.

The firſt magiſtrate or ſovereign choſen by Brama, had an iniquitous ſucceſſor, who perverted the order of ſociety, by authorizing the intermixture of the men and women of the four caſts which Brama had inſtituted; a ſacrilegious conjunction from which proceeded the fifth caſt, or tribe, called that of Burrun Sunker, which produced a multitude of others. The Bramins, incenſed at this, put him to death. When the kingdom was thus without a magiſtrate, the Bramins rubbed the two hands of the dead body, and from his right there ſprang two ſons, one a ſovereign, or warrior, the other a Bramin; while from his left hand they raiſed a daughter, whom they married to her brother the warrior, on whom they alſo conferred the ſupreme magiſtracy. This ſovereign had conceived the deſign of putting the tribe of Burrun Sunker, with all its branches, to death. The Bramins diſſuaded him from it; and adviſed him to aſſemble all the individuals that compoſed it, and aſſign to them their ſeveral occupations, in the ſciences, the arts, and the trades, which they and their deſcendants were to exerciſe in perpetuity.

From this account, it is evident, that the Bramin was ſo much elated with his origin, that he would have thought it degrading to him, to aſpire to the magiſtracy, or ſovereignty, and that the people are made to revere their chains, by their being loaded with them in the name of the Deity. There never was an Indian who attempted to leave the caſt in which he was born. The diſtribution of the Indians into caſts, each ſuperior to the other, is a mark of the deepeſt corruption, and the moſt ancient ſyſtem of ſlavery. It diſcovers an unjuſt and diſguſting pre-eminence of the prieſthood over all other ranks of ſociety, and a ſtupid inattention to the firſt legiſlator, to the general good of the nation.

The ſacred annals of the Indians bear date from the remoteſt antiquity, and are carried down, without in-

ſerruption, to the moſt modern times. They make no mention of that moſt memorable and moſt dreadful of all events, the deluge: for the Bramins pretend that their ſacred books are written before that period, and that this calamity did not extend itſelf over Indoſtan. They reckon the duration of the world by four Jogues, or diſtinct ages.

1. The Suttee Jogue (or age of purity) is ſaid to have laſted three millions two hundred thouſand years; and they hold that the life of man was in that age extended to one hundred thouſand years, and that his ſtature was twenty-one cubits.

2. The Tirtâh Jogue (or age in which one third of mankind were reprobate) they ſuppoſe to have conſiſted of two millions four hundred thouſand years, and that men then lived to the age of ten thouſand years.

3. The Dwâpâar Jogue (in which half of the human race became depraved) endured one million ſix hundred thouſand years, and mens lives were reduced to one thouſand years.

4. The Collee Jogue (in which all mankind are corrupted, or rather leſſened, for that is the true meaning of Collee) is the preſent era, which they ſuppoſe ordained to ſubſiſt for four hundred thouſand years, of which near fifty thouſand are already paſſed, and man's life in this period is limited to one hundred.

This opinion of the preſent age being the moſt corrupt, prevails univerſally in all parts of the world. The century in which we live is conſidered every where as the refuſe of all the centuries: as if vice and virtue were not coeval with man and the exiſtence of the world.

The Pundits or Bramin lawyers, ſtill ſpeak the original language in which theſe ordinances were compoſed, and which is entirely unknown to the bulk of the people. The Bramins ſpeak and write the Shanſcrit language, which is very copious and nervous, but the ſtyle of the beſt authors is wonderfully conciſe. The grammatical rules alſo are numerous and difficult, though there are not many anomalies. The Shanſcrit alphabet contains fifty letters. The declenſions in this

BOOK I. language are ſeven in number, and have each a ſingular, a dual, and a plural number. Among the ſyllables, ſome are ſhort, ſhorter, and very ſhort; others long, longer, and very long; ſome again, are acute, more acute, and moſt acute; others grave, more grave, and moſt grave. It is an idiom of notes and modulation. The laſt ſyllable of the word *bĕdĕrōō* is a kind of organ note that is held for near a minute. The Shanſcrit poetry comprehends a very great variety of different metres; and the verſification has the ſame kinds of feet, and is attended with as many difficulties as thoſe that occur in other languages, rhime not excepted. The poems are generally compoſed in ſtanzas, the ſubject of which is uſually moral. *A father in debt is an enemy to his ſon.—A mother of ſcandalous behaviour, is an enemy to her ſon.—A wife of a beautiful figure is an enemy to her huſband.—A ſon of no learning is an enemy to his parents.*

The following is a ſpecimen of one of their poems:

From the inſatiable deſire of riches, I have digged beneath the earth; I have ſought by chemiſtry to tranſmute the metals of the mountains.

I have traverſed the Queen of the Oceans; I have toiled inceſſant for the gratification of monarchs.

I have renounced the world to give up my whole heart to the ſtudy of incantations; I have paſſed whole nights on the places where the dead are burnt.

I have not gained one cowry.—Begone, O Avarice! thy buſineſs is over.

A language ſo difficult, and brought to ſuch a degree of perfection, neceſſarily implies a long ſucceſſion of years. At the time that the Shanſcrit was written and ſpoken, the ſeven days of the week were already marked, and the names of the ſeven planets were known in their proper order; the ſugar cane was already cultivated; chemiſtry was known; and wildfire had been invented. Fire arms were then in uſe, and a kind of dart or arrow tipt with fire is deſcribed, which, after it had taken its flight, divided into ſeveral ſeparate darts or ſtreams of flame, each of which

took effect, and, when once kindled, could not be extinguiſhed. A weapon of this ſort is alſo ſpoken of, which was capable of killing a hundred men at once. But it is chiefly in the civil code of the Indians, which we are going to enter upon, that we find the ſtrongeſt teſtimonies of the incredible antiquity of this nation.

We are, therefore, at length in poſſeſſion of theſe laws of a people from whom all others ſeem to have derived their inſtruction; and who, ſince their eſtabliſhment, have experienced no other alterations in their manners and prejudices than ſuch as are inſeparable from the character of man, and the influence of the times.

The civil code of the Indians opens with the duties of the ſovereign, or magiſtrate. We read in ſeparate paragraphs, *that he ſhould be beloved and reſpected; that he ſhould be well informed, and ſteady, and make himſelf feared; that he ſhould treat his ſubjects as his children; protect merit, and reward virtue; that he ſhould ſhow himſelf to his people; that he ſhould not practiſe the drinking of wine; but that he ſhould learn firſt to be maſter of himſelf. Neither ſhall he be ſeduced by the pleaſures of the chaſe, nor perpetually addicted to play. In all caſes he ſhall ſpare and excuſe the Bramins. He ſhall give a particular encouragement to agriculture. He ſhall not encroach upon the property of the meaneſt of his ſubjects. If he be victorious in war, he ſhall return thanks to the gods of the country, and ſhall give the ſpoils of the enemy to the Bramins. He ſhall not retain in his ſervice a great number of buffoons, or paraſites, and jeſters, and dancers, and athletics. If he cannot apprehend the thief, the injury done ſhall be repaired at his own expence. If he ſhould collect the accuſtomed tribute from his ſubjects, without protecting or taking care of them, he will go to hell. If he ſhould take to himſelf any part of a pious legacy or donation, he will remain in hell one thouſand years. He muſt know, that in a kingdom where men of a certain rank frequent proſtitutes, or practiſe the drinking of wine, ſuch kingdom becomes deſolate. If any perſon, excluſive of the magiſtrate's counſellors, be acquainted with the de-*

BOOK I. *ſigns of the magiſtrate, his magiſtracy is not of a long duration. He ſhall not take counſel of a weak and old man, or of a woman. When he is deſirous of conſulting with his counſellors, he ſhall chooſe a retired place, on the top of the houſe, or on the top of a mountain, or in the deſert, or in ſome ſuch ſecret receſs; and in places where there are parrots, or other talkative birds, he ſhall not hold his counſel while they are preſent.*

If in the whole code there were no other indication than that ſingle line upon pious donations, it would be ſufficient to ſhow the hand of the prieſt in its compilation. But what advantages can we ſuppoſe to ariſe from the entertainment of buffoons, dancers, and jeſters, at the court of the magiſtrate; unleſs it be for the purpoſe of relaxation from his more painful functions, or to divert him after his ſerious occupations?

What an infinite number of combined qualities are neceſſary to the formation of a civil code, eſpecially for the uſe of an extenſive nation! A profound knowledge of man, of the climate, of religion, of manners, of cuſtoms, of prejudices, of natural juſtice, of rights, of affinities, of conditions, of things, of duties in all ſtations, and of the due proportion between crimes and puniſhments! What judgment, what impartiality, what experience doth it not require? Is it poſſible to determine whether the code of the Indians has been the work of genius, or the reſult of the wiſe combinations of a ſeries of ages? The deciſion of this queſtion muſt be reſerved for the man who will take the pains to think deeply upon the ſubject.

The code begins with regulations on the mutuation of property, which is one of the firſt cements of civil ſociety; and on inheritance, which is the firſt ſtep towards the formation of communities. It then proceeds to rules of juſtice, without which no ſociety can ſubſiſt; and to the forms of adminiſtering it, without which the executive part would be arbitrary. Rules are alſo laid down concerning pledges, diviſions of property, donations, wages, ſlaves; concerning the duties of citizens, of father, mother, children, huſbands

and wives; and concerning the wages of dancing and singing women. After the diſcuſſion of theſe points, which imply a numerous population, an infinite variety of connections, and a conſummate experience of the wickedneſs of mankind, the code treats of rents and leaſes, of the diviſion of lands, and the produce of agriculture, of cities and towns, of fines, of injuries and quarrels of all kinds, of empirics, of ſharpers, of theft, in which that of perſons is included, of incontinence and adultery; and every one of theſe articles is entered into with a ſpirit of detail which comprehends the moſt ordinary kinds of delinquency, as well as thoſe which are more uncommon, and appear even chimerical. Almoſt every point has been foreſeen with judgment, diſtinguiſhed with ſagacity, and preſcribed, forbidden, or puniſhed with juſtice. Among this multitude of laws, we ſhall only take notice of thoſe which characterize the early periods of the nation, and which are calculated to ſtrike us either by their wiſdom, or by their ſingularity. BOOK I.

It is prohibited to lend money to women, children, or ſervants. The intereſt upon a loan increaſes in proportion to the inferiority which the caſt of the borrower holds in the ranks of the ſtate: an inhuman kind of policy, in which the ſecurity of the rich has been more attended to than the wants of the poor. Whatever may be the duration of the loan, the arrears of intereſt ſhall riſe no higher than double the principal. If a perſon mortgages the ſame land to two mortgagees, he ſhall be puniſhed with death: this is juſt; for it is a ſpecies of theft. The creditor may ſeize upon an inſolvent debtor of the inferior tribes, confine him in his houſe, and oblige him to work for his benefit. This is a leſs cruel practice than to throw him into a priſon, and make him lie upon ſtraw.

A woman of bad morals, a childleſs widow, a barren wife, a man who has no principles of religion, an eunuch, an idiot, a man baniſhed from his caſt, or expelled from his family, one who is born blind or deaf, a dumb man, an impotent man, one who is ſeized with

BOOK I. a conſumption or a leproſy, or one who has ſmitten his father; all ſuch perſons are incapable of inheritance. But whoever ſhall ſuperſede theſe perſons in the inheritance of bequeathed property, muſt allow them victuals and clothing.

The Indians do not make wills. Their claims and rights are determined by the degrees of affinity.

The ſhare of the child who has profited by his education, ſhall be double to that of the ignorant child.

Almoſt all the laws of the code, which concern property, ſucceſſion, and diſtribution, are conformable to the Roman laws; becauſe reaſon and equity are of all ages, and dictate the ſame regulations, unleſs they be thwarted by capricious cuſtoms or extravagant prejudices, the origin of which is loſt in the obſcurity of remote times; while their antiquity ſupports them againſt the rules of common ſenſe, and the vain efforts of the legiſlator.

If an injuſtice be committed in a tribunal, the fault ſhall fall upon all the parties concerned in the action, the judge himſelf not excepted. It were to be wiſhed that this rule might obtain in all courts of judicature, and that the judge might be made a party in the caſe. If he ſhould have judged ill from incapacity, he is culpable; if from iniquity, he is ſtill more guilty.

The code, after having condemned the falſe witneſs to the ſame puniſhment that would have been inflicted on the perſon accuſed, admits of a falſe teſtimony for the preſervation of a man's life, againſt a true evidence that would deprive him of it. What an unaccountable mixture of wiſdom and folly!

A huſband in diſtreſs may deliver up his wife, if ſhe conſent; and a father may ſell his ſon, if he have ſeveral. Of theſe two laws, the firſt is infamous, as it reduces the mother of a family to the condition of a proſtitute; the ſecond is inhuman, as it reduces a ſon to the ſtate of a ſlave.

The different claſſes of ſlaves are enormouſly multiplied among the Indians; and the law admits of their enfranchiſement, which is performed with a particular

kind of ceremony. "The ſlave ſhall fill a pitcher with water, and put in it ſome rice cleanſed without boiling, ſome flowers, and a kind of ſmall ſalad; and, taking the pitcher upon his ſhoulder, ſhall ſtand near his maſter; and the maſter, putting the pitcher upon the ſlave's head, ſhall then break the pitcher, ſo that the water, rice, flowers, and ſalad, that were in the pitcher, may fall upon the ſlave's body; after that, the maſter ſhall three times pronounce the words, *I have made you free*. Upon this ſpeech, the ſlave aforeſaid ſhall take ſome ſteps towards the eaſt, whereupon he ſhall be free." BOOK I.

If a man kill an animal, ſuch as a horſe, a goat, or a camel, one hand and one foot ſhall be cut off from him. By this law, we ſee that man is put upon a par with the brute creation. If he kill a tyger, a bear, or a ſerpent, he ſhall pay a pecuniary fine. The ranking of theſe things among offences, is the ſuperſtitious conſequence of the metempſychoſis, which, conſidering the body of an animal as being the reſidence of a human ſoul, looks upon the violent death of a reptile as a ſpecies of murder. It is a cuſtom with a Bramin, before he ſits down on the ground, to ſweep the place with the lappet of his gown, and to ſay to God, *As I have extended my benevolence to the ant, ſo I hope thou wilt pour down thine upon me.*

Population is holden as a primary duty, and as an order of nature ſo ſacred, that the code allows the practice of deceit, of lying, and of perjury, for the purpoſe of completing a wedding. This is a diſhoneſt action practiſed every where, but which was never legally authoriſed, except among the Indians. Would it not be a mark of wiſdom in the legiſlator to authoriſe, in many other inſtances, what he can neither prevent nor puniſh?

All the religious ſyſtems of Aſia admit of polygamy, and ſome of them ſuffer a plurality of huſbands. In the kingdoms of Boutan and the Thibet, one woman frequently ſerves for a whole family, without creating the leaſt jealouſy or domeſtic confuſion.

BOOK I. Virginity is a condition eſſential to the validity of the conjugal union. The woman is under the deſpotic ſway of her huſband. The Indian code ſays, *That a woman ſhould by no means be miſtreſs of her own actions; for, if ſhe have her own free will, ſhe will always behave amiſs; and that her virtue is not to be relied upon.* If a woman bring her huſband nothing but daughters, he may be diſpenſed from cohabiting with her. A woman ſhall never go out of the houſe without the conſent of her huſband, and ſhall always have ſome clothes upon her boſom. It is proper for a woman, after her huſband's death, to burn herſelf in the fire with his corpſe, unleſs ſhe be with child, or that her huſband be abſent, or that ſhe cannot get his turban, or his girdle, or unleſs ſhe devote herſelf to chaſtity and celibacy. Every woman who thus burns herſelf, ſhall remain in paradiſe with her huſband for an infinite number of years by deſtiny.

The legiſlation of the Indians, which might be found too indulgent with reſpect to certain crimes, ſuch as the murder of a ſlave, pederaſty, and beſtiality, for which abſolution could be obtained with money, will certainly appear to bear extremely hard upon the unlawful intercourſe between the two ſexes. This degree of rigour has probably ariſen from the lubricity of the women, and the weakneſs of the men in a burning climate; from the inordinate jealouſy of the latter; from the fear of confounding the caſts; and from the extravagant ideas of continency, propagated in all countries by incontinent prieſts: and it is at the ſame time a proof of the antiquity of the code. In proportion as ſociety increaſes and becomes permanent, corruption is extended; offences, particularly ſuch as ſpring from the nature of the climate, the influence of which never ceaſes, are multiplied; and the puniſhments allotted to them gradually fall into diſuſe, unleſs the code be under the ſanction of the divinity. Our laws have pronounced a ſevere puniſhment for adultery; but who is there that ſuſpects it?

What we call an intercourſe of gallantry, the code

calls adultery. There is a ſpecies of adultery that conſiſts in the coquetry of the man or the woman, the penalty for which is pecuniary; the adultery which conſiſts in ſending preſents, is puniſhed in the man by mutilation; and conſummated adultery is puniſhed by death. The daughter of a Bramin who proſtitutes herſelf is condemned to be burnt. Immodeſt actions, the differences of which are ſpecified by law, becauſe law has no reſtraint, but which decency forbids an hiſtorical writer to mention, are ſubject to dreadful puniſhments. A man of a ſuperior caſt, convicted of having cohabited with a woman of a mean caſt, is to be branded in the forehead with the figure of a man without a head. Other puniſhments of an indecent kind are deviſed for a Bramin convicted of adultery, and his partner in iniquity is put to death.

The dancing and ſinging girls, and the proſtitutes, are formed into communities under the protection of the police. They are employed in ſolemnities; and are ſent out to meet perſons in public capacities. This ſort of people were not holden in ſo much contempt in ancient times as they are at preſent. Before the eſtabliſhment of laws, the ſtate of man differed little from that of the brute; and no prejudice had attached an idea of turpitude to any of our natural functions.

If a proſtitute ſhould break her word, ſhe ſhall return twice as much money as ſhe has received. If a man hath hired a proſtitute, and ſhall attempt to commit any unnatural act with her, he ſhall give her eight times the ſum ſtipulated, and alſo pay a fine of eight times as much to the magiſtrate. The puniſhment is the ſame, if, after having agreed with her for himſelf, he gives her up to other men.

Gaming is not allowed, unleſs with leave of the magiſtrate. The money loſt at a game played in ſecret cannot be exacted.

If a man ſtrike a Bramin with his hand or his foot, he ſhall have his hand or foot cut off.

If a Sooder, or man of the fourth caſt, be convicted of reading the Beids, or ſacred books, he ſhall have

BOOK I. boiling oil poured into his mouth; if he ſhould liſten to the reading of the Beids of the Shaſter, then the oil, heated as before, ſhall be poured into his ears, and wax ſhall be melted together, and the orifice of his ears ſhall be ſtopped up with it.

If a Sooder ſhall ſit upon the carpet of a Bramin, in that caſe, the magiſtrate, having thruſt a hot iron into his buttock, and branded him, ſhall baniſh him the kingdom; or elſe he ſhall cut off his buttock. Whatever crime a Bramin may have committed, he ſhall not be put to death. The murder of a Bramin is the greateſt crime any man can be guilty of.

The property of a Bramin is ſacred, and cannot paſs into other hands, not even thoſe of the ſovereign. This gives an inſtance of eſtates in mortmain among the Indians, in times of the moſt remote antiquity.

The ſilence of the law upon any point is to be ſupplied by a reprimand. The puniſhment of every fault is increaſed upon repetition. The inſtruments of a man's art or profeſſion, and even thoſe that belong to the dancing girl, or common proſtitute, are not liable to confiſcation. What would an Indian ſay, if he were to ſee our officers of juſtice ſeize upon the furniture in a peaſant's cottage, and put up his oxen, and all his inſtruments of tillage, to public auction?

To conclude this ſhort analyſis of a code too little known amongſt us, by ſome ſtriking paſſages, we ſhall quote the following, reſpecting the magiſtrate: "When "a kingdom is preſerved free from thieves, from adul- "terers, from murderers, and from all men of ſuch "evil principles, the magiſtrates of the kingdom go to "paradiſe; and if the magiſtrate always brings ſuch "perſons to puniſhment, he then alſo goes to para- "diſe; and his kingdom is doubled, and his reputa- "tion is increaſed!" And again: "If a magiſtrate in- "flict puniſhment upon the guilty, and honourably "treat the innocent, ſuch a man has all the requiſites "for magiſtracy, and is always ſucceſsful, and enjoys "a good character, and in the next world goes to pa- "radiſe;" for, ſaith the code, with as much energy as

ſimplicity, "Puniſhment is the magiſtrate; puniſh-
"ment is the inſpirer of terror; puniſhment is the
"nouriſher of the ſubjects; puniſhment is the defend-
"er from calamity; puniſhment is the guardian of
"thoſe that ſleep; puniſhment, with a black aſpect
"and a red eye, terrifies the guilty."

Notwithſtanding the defects of this code, the moſt ſtriking of which are, too much indulgence to the prieſts, and too much ſeverity againſt women, yet it ſtill ſerves to confirm the high opinions entertained of the wiſdom of the Bramins in the moſt remote ages. Among the number of ſenſible laws with which it abounds, if there be ſome which may appear too lenient or too rigid; ſome which preſcribe mean or indecent actions; and others, again, which inflict heinous puniſhments for ſlight offences, or mild chaſtiſements for crimes of great enormity; yet the wiſe man, before he ventures to cenſure them, will weigh all the circumſtances; and will conſider, that a legiſlator is often compelled by them to give to the people only the beſt laws they are capable of receiving. He will determine, without heſitation, from the complicated regularity of the Shanſcrit grammar, upon the antiquity of this language formerly in common uſe, but for ſo long a time unknown: and from the formation of a code ſo extenſive as that of the Indians, he will conclude that a great number of ages are elapſed in India, between the barbarous and civilized ſtate of that country; and that the prieſts have been culpable, with reſpect to their own countrymen as well as to foreigners, in keeping up a myſterious reſerve, which has been an univerſal check to the progreſs of civilization.

The ſeal, however, which cloſed the mouth of the Bramin, is now broken; and we may preſume, that the time is not far diſtant, when all that remains to be known of the ancient religion and juriſprudence of the Indians will be revealed. In the mean while, let us examine their preſent ſtate, and furniſh ſome ſtrokes of character that are wanting to complete the deſcription of their policy and their doctrines.

BOOK I. As the Bramins are the only perſons who underſtand the language of the ſacred book, their comments on the text are the ſame as thoſe which have ever been made on religious writings; all the maxims which fancy, intereſt, paſſion, or falſe zeal, can ſuggeſt, are to be found in theſe volumes. Theſe excluſive pretenſions of the interpreters of religion have given them that unbounded influence over the people, which impoſtors and fanatics will not fail to exert over men who have not the courage to conſult either their own reaſon, or their own feelings.

From the Indus to the Ganges, the *Vedan* is univerſally received as the book that contains the principles of religion; but the generality differ on ſeveral points relative to faith and practice. That ſpirit of debate and refinement, which for ſo many ages has infected the philoſophy of our ſchools, has made ſtill further progreſs among the Bramins, and cauſed more abſurdities in their doctrines than it has introduced into ours, by a mixture of Platoniſm, which is perhaps itſelf derived from the doctrines of the Bramins.

Throughout all Indoſtan, the laws of government, cuſtoms and manners, make a part of religion; becauſe every thing is derived from Brama.

There is ſome reaſon to believe that Brama was poſſeſſed of the ſovereign authority; as his religious inſtitutions were evidently deſigned to inſpire the people with a profound reverence and great love for their country, and as they are evidently intended to guard againſt the vices incident to the climate by ſevere laws. Few religions ſeem to have been ſo well adapted to the countries for which they were calculated.

It is from Brama that the Indians derive their religious veneration for the three capital rivers of Indoſtan, the Indus, the Criſtina, and the Ganges. It was he who conſecrated the animal that is moſt ſerviceable in the cultivation of land, as well as the cow, whoſe milk is ſo wholeſome a nouriſhment in hot countries. To him they aſcribe the diviſion of the people into tribes or *caſtes*, diſtinguiſhed from each other by

their political and religious principles. This inſtitution is antecedent to all traditions and known records, and may be conſidered as the moſt ſtriking proof of the great antiquity of the Indians. Nothing appears more contrary to the natural progreſs of ſocial connections, than this diſtribution of the members of the ſame community into diſtinct claſſes. Such an idea could only be the reſult of a ſtudied plan of legiſlation, which preſuppoſes a great proficiency in civilization and knowledge. Another circumſtance ſtill more extraordinary is, that this diſtinction ſhould continue ſo many ages, after the leading idea and connecting tie was forgotten; which affords us a remarkable example of the ſtrength of national prejudices, when ſanctified by religious ideas.

The difference between the caſts, is remarkable at firſt ſight. The members of each tribe have a kind of reſemblance to each other, by which it is impoſſible to miſtake them. They have the ſame habits, the ſame ſhape, the ſame tone of voice, the ſame beauty, or the ſame deformity of perſon. All travellers, of any degree of obſervation, have taken notice of this kind of family air. There are ſeveral orders of Bramins: thoſe who mix in ſociety are, for the moſt part, very corrupt in their morals; they believe that the water of the Ganges will waſh away all their crimes; and not being ſubject to any civil juriſdiction, they live without either reſtraint or virtue; excepting that character of compaſſion and charity which is ſo commonly found in the mild climate of India.

The others who live abſtracted from the world, are either weak-minded men or enthuſiaſts, and abandon themſelves to lazineſs, ſuperſtition, and the dreams of metaphyſics. We find in their diſputes the very ſame ideas that occur in the writings of our moſt celebrated metaphyſicians; ſuch as, ſubſtance, accident, priority, poſteriority, immutability, indiviſibility, the vital and ſenſitive ſoul; but with this difference, that in India theſe fine diſcoveries are very ancient, though it is but a very ſhort time ſince father Lombard, Thomas Aqui-

BOOK I.

nas, Leibnitz, and Malebranche, aſtoniſhed all Europe with their dexterity in raiſing theſe viſionary ſyſtems. As this abſtracted manner of reaſoning was derived to us from the Greek philoſophers, whoſe refinements we have far exceeded, it is not improbable that the Greeks themſelves might have borrowed this ridiculous knowledge from the Indians; unleſs we rather chooſe to ſuppoſe, that as the principles of metaphyſics lie open to the capacities of all nations, the indolence of the Bramins may have produced the ſame effect in India, as that of our monks has done in Europe: notwithſtanding the inhabitants of one country had never communicated their doctrines to thoſe of the other.

Such are the deſcendants of the ancient Brahmans, whom antiquity never ſpeaks of but with admiration; becauſe the affectation of auſterity and myſtery, and the privilege of declaring the will of Heaven, have impoſed upon the vulgar in all ages. The Greeks aſcribe to them the doctrine of the immortality of the ſoul, and certain notions concerning the nature of the Supreme Being, and future rewards and puniſhments.

To this ſpecies of knowledge, which is the more flattering to the curioſity of man, in proportion as it tranſcends his weak capacity, the Brahmans added an infinite number of religious obſervances, which were adopted by Pythagoras in his ſchool; ſuch as faſting, prayer, ſilence, and contemplation; virtues of the imagination, which have a more powerful effect upon the vulgar, than thoſe of a uſeful and benevolent tendency. The Brahmans were looked upon as the friends of the gods, becauſe they affected to pay them ſo much attention; and as the protectors of mankind, becauſe they paid them none. No bounds were therefore ſet to the reſpect and gratitude that were ſhown them; princes themſelves did not ſcruple to conſult theſe recluſes upon any critical conjuncture, from a ſuppoſition, no doubt, that they were inſpired; ſince it was impoſſible to imagine that they had the advantages of experience. We can ſcarcely, however, deny, that there might be among them ſome men of real virtue,

whoſe minds reliſhed the pure and ingenuous delights of ſtudy and ſcience; and who, by nobly raiſing their thoughts to the contemplation of the firſt Being, muſt have had more powerful incitements to render themſelves worthy of his care, and none to juſtify them in deceiving and tyrannizing over their fellow-creatures. BOOK I.

The claſs of military men is diffuſed over the whole country under different denominations. In the Malabar they are called Naïrs; and here they are a well-made and brave ſet of men; but proud, effeminate, and ſuperſtitious. Some of the moſt fortunate of them have contrived to provide means of ſubſiſtence for themſelves upon this coaſt as in other parts; while others poſſeſs ſome little ſhare of property. The greateſt number of them are active officers or ſoldiers in the camps. It is generally known that they have an inclination to plunder and extortions; which they uſually diſplay upon the public roads. Every prudent traveller, therefore, takes the precaution to get himſelf attended by ſome of them; and thoſe who are paid for this ſervice, will rather ſuffer themſelves to be maſſacred, than ſurvive the ſtranger who has put himſelf under their protection. Were they to betray this truſt, their neareſt relations would put them to death. Theſe manners are peculiar to the Malabar country; for the other ſoldiers of Indoſtan have not ſuch vicious propenſities.

Independent of the claſs of warriors, there are people, ſuch, for inſtance, as the Canarins and Marattas, who generally follow the military profeſſion, either becauſe they are the deſcendants of ſome tribes devoted originally to arms, or becauſe times and circumſtances have introduced a change in their primitive inſtitutions.

The third claſs conſiſts entirely of huſbandmen; and there are few countries where this ſet of men have a better title to the gratitude of their fellow-ſubjects; they are laborious and induſtrious, perfectly acquainted with the art of diſtributing their rivulets, and of making the burning ſoil they inhabit as fertile as poſſible. They are in India what they would be every

BOOK I. where elſe, if not corrupted or oppreſſed by government, the moſt honeſt and virtuous of men. This claſs, which was formerly much reſpected, was free from tyranny and the ravages of war; never were the huſbandmen obliged to bear arms; their lands and their labours were holden equally ſacred; they ploughed their fields within view of contending armies, who ſuffered them to purſue their peaceful toil without moleſtation; their corn was never ſet on fire, nor their trees cut down; religion too, that all-powerful principle, lent her aſſiſtance to reaſon, which, though it inculcates indeed the propriety of protecting uſeful occupations, has not of itſelf ſufficient influence to enforce the execution of its own laws.

The tribe of mechanics is branched out into as many ſubdiviſions as there are trades; no one is allowed to relinquiſh the employment of his parents; for this reaſon induſtry and vaſſalage have ever gone hand in hand, and carried the arts to as high a degree of perfection as they can poſſibly attain without the aſſiſtance of taſte and imagination, which ſeldom unfold themſelves but under the kind influences of emulation and liberty.

To this tribe of mechanics, which is infinitely extenſive, two kinds of employment belong, remarkable for the ſingularity of ſome of their cuſtoms. One of them is that of the only workmen who are allowed to dig wells and ponds. Theſe are the ſtrongeſt and moſt laborious men of the country. Their wives ſhare their labours with them; they even eat with them; a privilege, which, throughout all Indoſtan, theſe women enjoy only in common with the wives of the carriers.

This laſt ſet of men, to whom all the buſineſs of carriage belongs, have no fixed reſidence; but travel over the whole peninſula. Their families and their merchandiſe are carried upon the backs of oxen; which, whether from uſurpation or original right, they feed upon all the roads, without paying. One of the moſt important employments of thoſe men is to provide ſubſiſtence for the armies. They are ſuffered to paſs

freely through one camp, in order to ſupply the wants of another. Their perſons, their beaſts of burden, and even the proviſions that belong to them, are all ſacred. If it were proved that the proviſions they carry were the property of the enemy, they would be ſeized upon; but the reſt of the convoy would continue its march unmoleſted.

Beſide theſe tribes, there is a fifth, which is the refuſe of all the reſt; the members of it are employed in the meaneſt offices of ſociety: they bury the dead, carry away dirt, and live upon the fleſh of animals that die natural deaths. They are prohibited from entering into the temples and public markets; neither are they allowed the uſe of the wells that are common to all the inhabitants. Their dwellings are at the extremity of the towns, or conſiſt of ſolitary cottages in the country; and they are even forbidden to appear in the ſtreets where the Bramins reſide. As all other Indians, they may employ themſelves in the labours of agriculture, but only for the benefit of the other tribes; for they had never any lands of their own, not even upon leaſe. Such is the degree of horror they excite, that if by chance they were to touch any one not belonging to their tribe, they would be deprived with impunity of a life reckoned too abject to deſerve the protection of the laws.

The fate of theſe unhappy wretches, who are known on the coaſt of Coromandel by the name of Parias, is the ſame even in theſe countries where a foreign dominion has contributed to produce ſome little change in the ideas of the people. Their degradation is ſtill more complete on the Malabar coaſt, which has not been ſubdued by the Mogul, and where they are called Pouliats.

Moſt of them are employed in the culture of rice. Near the fields where they carry on this work, there is a kind of hut, into which they retire, when they hear a cry which always comes from a diſtance, to give them notice of ſome order from the perſon on whom they depend; to which they anſwer, without

BOOK I. coming out of their retreat. They take the ſame precautions, whenever they are warned by a confuſed kind of noiſe of the approach of any man whatever. If they have not time to hide themſelves, they fall proſtrate upon the ground, with their face downwards, with all the marks of humiliation which the ſenſe of their diſgrace can ſuggeſt. Whenever the harveſts do not anſwer to the avidity of an oppreſſive maſter, he ſometimes cruelly ſets fire to the huts of theſe unhappy labourers; and if they attempt to eſcape the flames, which ſeldom happens, he fires upon them without mercy.

The condition of theſe wretched people is horrible in every reſpect, even in the manner in which they are forced to provide for their moſt urgent wants. In the duſk of the evening, they come out from their retreats, in bands more or leſs numerous; they direct their ſteps towards the market, at a certain diſtance from which they begin to bellow. The merchants approach, and the Pouliats aſk for what they want. They are ſupplied; and the proviſions are laid for them upon the very ſpot where the money deſtined for the payment of them has been previouſly depoſited. When the purchaſers can be aſſured that they ſhall not be ſeen by any one, they come out from behind the hedge where they had concealed themſelves, and carry away, with precipitation, what they have acquired in ſo ſingular a manner.

Theſe Pouliats, however, the eternal object of contempt among the other tribes, have expelled, as it is ſaid, from among themſelves the Pouliches, ſtill more degraded. Theſe laſt are forbidden the uſe of fire; they are not permitted to build huts, but are reduced to the neceſſity of living in a kind of neſt, which they make for themſelves in the foreſts, and upon the trees. When preſſed with hunger, they howl like wild beaſts, to excite the compaſſion of the paſſengers. The moſt charitable among the Indians then depoſit ſome rice, or other food, at the foot of a tree; and retire with all poſſible haſte, to give the famiſhed wretch an op-

portunity of taking it without meeting with his bene- BOOK
factor, who would think himſelf polluted by coming I.
near him.

This extreme diſgrace, into which a conſiderable part of a numerous nation is plunged, has always appeared an inexplicable circumſtance. Men of the utmoſt ſagacity have never been able to conceive, how a people, humane and ſenſible, could have brought themſelves to reduce their own brethren to ſo abject a ſtate. To ſolve this difficulty, let us be permitted to hazard a conjecture. In our half barbarous governments, dreadful torments, or an ignominious death, are allotted to thoſe criminals who have diſturbed, in a greater or leſs degree, the peace of ſociety. May we not therefore reaſonably ſuppoſe, that, in the ſoft climate of India, a more moderate ſyſtem of legiſlation may have been ſatisfied with excluding from their tribes all kinds of malefactors? This puniſhment muſt appear to them ſufficient to put a ſtop to the commiſſion of ſuch crimes; and it was certainly the beſt adapted to a country where the effuſion of blood was always forbidden, by religious, as well as moral principles. It would certainly have been a very proper circumſtance, if the children had not inherited the infamy of their parents; but there were unſurmountable prejudices, which militated againſt this reinſtatement. There never was an inſtance of a family being received again into a tribe, after it had once been expelled from it.

The Europeans, by living with theſe unhappy people upon terms of common humanity, have at length made themſelves almoſt equally the objects of deteſtation among the Indians. This deteſtation prevails, even to this day, in the inland parts of the country, where the want of intercourſe keeps alive thoſe rooted prejudices, which wear off gradually near the ſea-coaſts, where the intereſts and mutual wants of commerce unite men with each other, and neceſſarily introduce juſter notions of human nature.

All theſe claſſes are for ever ſeparated from each

BOOK I. other by unſurmountable barriers; they are not allowed to intermarry, live, or eat together. Whoever tranſgreſſes this rule, is baniſhed, as a diſgrace to his tribe.

One might expect that theſe ſeparations ſhould not exiſt in the temples. There we ought, at leaſt, to recollect, that diſtinctions of birth are merely a matter of ſocial convention; and that all men, without exception, are brethren and children of the ſame God: but this is by no means the caſe here. Some of the tribes, indeed, draw near to the foot of the altars, and are confounded with each other; but the loweſt of them feel the humiliating ſtate of their condition, even in the pagodas.

The religious ſyſtem which has given a ſanction to the ſubordination of rank among the Indians, has not had ſufficient influence to prevent them entirely from aſpiring to thoſe marks of diſtinction which are appropriated to the ſuperior claſſes. Ambition, ſo natural to mankind, has ſometimes exerted itſelf, and ſingular expedients have been tried by men of reſtleſs ſpirit, to ſhare with the Bramins the veneration of the multitude: this has given riſe to a race of monks, known in India by the name of Jogueys.

Men of all the reſpectable tribes or caſts are permitted to follow this claſs of life; nothing more is required of them, than to emulate the Bramins in abſtracted contemplation and indolence: but, at the ſame time, they are obliged to ſurpaſs them in auſterities. Accordingly, the ſeverities which our moſt enthuſiaſtic monks impoſe upon themſelves, are not to be compared to the horrible torments to which an Indian monk devotes himſelf. The Jogueys, bent under the weight of their chains, ſtretched upon a dunghill, and extenuated by mortifications, watching, and faſting, exhibit a ſpectacle intereſting to the multitude.

Moſt of them go about the country, where they receive the homage of the people, and even of the great, who, either from motives of principle or policy, often deſcend from their elephants, to proſtrate themſelves

at the feet of theſe diſguſting mortals. Fruits, flowers, and perfumes, are offered to them on all ſides. They demand with haughtineſs what they want, and receive what is preſented to them as a tribute; nor does this arrogance ever leſſen the veneration that is paid to them. The object of their ambition is to collect materials for planting trees, for digging ponds, and for repairing or building pagodas. BOOK I.

Thoſe among them who prefer living in the woods, are viſited in their ſolitude by numbers of women whoſe rank is not ſufficient to oblige them to lead a recluſe life, and eſpecially thoſe who have no children. They often find in their pilgrimage an end to their ſterility, which is more ignominious in India than any where elſe.

The men of this order, whoſe miracles have been moſt extolled by report, are drawn towards the cities, where they fix their reſidence: but ſtill they live under tents, or in the open air. There it is that they receive marks of reſpect from all quarters, and that they give their advice, which is eagerly ſought after. They ſcarce ever condeſcend to viſit even the palaces, where their preſence would be eſteemed the higheſt honour. If they ſometimes yield to the entreaties of ſome woman of very conſiderable rank, their ſandals, which they leave at the door, give notice to the huſband that he is not allowed to enter.

The marvellous of the Indian mythology is leſs agreeable and leſs alluring than that of the Greeks. They have a ſcape-horſe, analogous to the ſcape-goat of the Jews. They admit, as we do, good and bad angels. The Lord, ſaith the Shaſter, formed the reſolution of creating beings, who might partake of his glory. He ſpoke, and angels roſe into exiſtence: they ſang, in concert, the praiſes of their Creator; and harmony reigned in the celeſtial regions; when two of theſe ſpirits having revolted, drew a legion after them. The Supreme Being drove them into a place of torment; from whence they were releaſed at the interceſſion of the faithful angels, upon conditions

BOOK I. which at once inſpired them with joy and terror. The rebels were ſentenced, under different forms, to undergo, in the loweſt of the fifteen planets, puniſhments proportionate to the enormity of their firſt offence: accordingly, each angel underwent eighty-ſeven tranſmigrations upon earth, before he animated the body of a cow, which holds the higheſt rank among the animal tribes. Theſe different tranſmigrations are ſo many ſtages of expiation, preparatory to a ſtate of probation, which commences as ſoon as the angel tranſmigrates from the body of the cow into that of a human being: in this ſituation, the Creator enlarges his intellectual faculties, and conſtitutes him a free agent; and his good or bad conduct haſtens or retards the time of his pardon. The good are, at their death, reunited to the Supreme Being; and the wicked begin anew the era of their expiation.

From this tradition, it appears, that the metempſychoſis is an actual puniſhment; and that the ſouls which animate the generality of the brute creation, are nothing more than wicked ſpirits. This explanation is certainly not univerſally adopted in India. It was probably invented by ſome devotee of a melancholy and rigid ſect; for the doctrine of the tranſmigration of ſouls ſeems originally to have been founded rather on hope than fear.

In fact, it is natural to ſuppoſe, that it was only adopted at firſt as an idea that flattered and ſoothed mankind, and would eaſily be embraced in a country where men, living under the influence of a delicious climate and a mild government, began to be ſenſible of the ſhortneſs of life. A ſyſtem, therefore, which extended it beyond its natural limits, could not fail to be well received. It is a conſolation to an old man, who ſees himſelf deſerted by all that is dear to him, to imagine that his enjoyments will ſtill remain, and that his diſſolution only opens a paſſage to another ſcene of exiſtence. At the ſame time, it is equally a matter of conſolation to the friends who attend him in his laſt moments, to think, that, in leaving the world, he does

not relinquiſh the hopes of riſing once more into life. BOOK
Hence was the riſe and progreſs of the doctrine of I.
tranſmigration. Reaſon, diſſatisfied with this illuſion, may urge in vain, that, without recollection, there can be no continuance or identity of being; and that, if a man does not remember that he has exiſted, he is in the ſame ſituation as if he had never exiſted before:—Sentiment adopted what reaſon diſallowed.

The Shaſter, no doubt, has given a greater air of ſeverity to the doctrine of the metempſychoſis, with a view of making it more inſtrumental in ſupporting the ſyſtem of morality neceſſary to be eſtabliſhed. Accordingly, upon this idea of tranſmigration conſidered in the light of a puniſhment, the Shaſter explains the duties which the angels were required to perform. The principal ones were charity, abſtinence from animal food, and a ſcrupulous adherence to the profeſſion of their anceſtors. This laſt mentioned prejudice, in which all theſe people agree, notwithſtanding they differ in their opinions concerning its origin, is without example, unleſs it be among the ancient Egyptians, whoſe inſtitutions, and thoſe of the Indians, have certainly ſome hiſtorical relation to each other, which is now unknown to us. But though the Egyptian laws eſtabliſhed a diſtinction of ranks, none were held in contempt: while, on the contrary, the laws of Brama, by the introduction, perhaps, of ſome abuſes, ſeem to have condemned one part of the nation to pain and infamy.

It is evident, from the civil code, that the Indians were almoſt as civilized when Brama inſtituted his laws, as they are at preſent. Whenever a community begins to aſſume a certain form, it naturally divides into ſeveral claſſes, according to the variety and extent of thoſe arts that are neceſſary to ſupply its demands.

It was doubtleſs the intention of Brama, in confirming theſe different profeſſions by ſanctions in religion, and in confining the exerciſe of them perpetually to the ſame families, to give them a laſting eſtabliſh-

BOOK I. ment on political principles; but he did not foreſee, that, by theſe means, he ſhould obſtruct the progreſs of diſcoveries, which in future might give riſe to new occupations. Accordingly, if we may judge from the ſcrupulous attention paid by the Indians at this day to the laws of Brama, we may affirm, that induſtry has made no advances among this people ſince the time of this legiſlator; and that they were almoſt as civilized as they are at preſent, when they firſt received his laws. This remark is ſufficient to give us an idea of the antiquity of theſe people, who have made no improvements in knowledge ſince an era which ſeems to be the moſt ancient in hiſtory.

Different kinds of food were preſcribed by Brama for theſe reſpective tribes. The military, and ſome other caſts, are allowed to eat veniſon and mutton; ſome huſbandmen and mechanics are indulged in the uſe of fiſh; while others live only on milk and vegetables. The Bramins eat nothing that has had life. In general, theſe people are extremely ſober; but their abſtinence is more or leſs rigid, in proportion to the degree of labour their profeſſions require. They are married in their infancy.

The extravagant cuſtom of burying the living with the dead, has prevailed in the old, as well as in the new hemiſphere; among barbarous and civilized nations, in the moſt deſert, as in the moſt populous regions. Countries which never had any communication with each other, have equally exhibited this cruel ſpectacle. Pride, exceſſive ſelf-love, and other paſſions or vices, may have led men into the ſame error in different climates.

It may, however, be preſumed, that a practice ſo evidently contrary to reaſon, has been chiefly derived from the doctrine of the reſurrection of the body, and of a future life. The hope of being ſerved in the other world by the ſame perſons who have obeyed us in this, has been the cauſe of the ſlave being ſacrificed on the tomb of his maſter, and the wife on the corpſe

of her huſband. Accordingly, all the records of this kind bear witneſs, that theſe ſacrifices are moſt frequently made upon the aſhes of princes.

According to this principle, the Indians ought never to have been led aſtray by the idea of ſuch an extravagant cuſtom. Their prejudice in favour of the metempſychoſis, is well known. They have always believed, and probably they will ever adhere to the ſame perſuaſion, that the ſoul, at the diſſolution of the body, goes to animate another; and that theſe ſucceſſive and continual tranſmigrations will never ceaſe. How is it poſſible, that, with ſuch a ſyſtem, it can have been ſuppoſed, that the aſhes of a wife would be mixed with thoſe of a huſband, from whom ſhe was to be ſeparated eternally? This is one of thoſe numberleſs inconſiſtencies which, in all parts of the world, degrade the human mind.

It has been a matter of doubt, upon what principle this inſtitution has been founded, till our opinions were determined upon this point, by the publication of the civil code of Indoſtan, tranſlated from the Sanſcrit.

The widows of the Indians, whatever propenſity every living creature may have to its own preſervation, reſolve upon the ſacrifice of their lives with a degree of boldneſs. If they ſhould recede from it, they would be degraded, covered with rags, devoted to the meaneſt employments, and deſpiſed by the loweſt of the ſlaves. Theſe motives may poſſibly have ſome ſhare in ſtrengthening their reſolution: but they are chiefly urged on to this deſperate act, from the fear of leaving an odious memory behind them, and of conſigning to infamy their children, whom they love with a degree of tenderneſs which our more obdurate hearts have never experienced.

Theſe horrid ſcenes are fortunately becoming every day leſs frequent. The Europeans never permit them in the territories over which their dominion extends. Some Mooriſh princes have alſo proſcribed them in their provinces. Thoſe among them whom the thirſt of gold has induced ſtill to ſuffer them, have ſet this

BOOK I. permiſſion at ſo high a price, that it can ſeldom be purchaſed. But even this difficulty ſometimes increaſes the eagerneſs to obtain it. There are women who have been known to devote themſelves for a long time to the moſt humiliating and hardeſt labour, in order to collect the ſums required for this extravagant ſuicide.

A Bramin's widow, young, beautiful, and engaging, was deſirous of exhibiting this tragic ſcene at Surat; but her ſolicitations were not complied with. The lady, full of indignation, took a handful of burning coals; and, ſeemingly regardleſs of the pain, ſaid, in a firm tone, to the Nabob: *Conſider not alone the tenderneſs of my age and of my ſex; ſee with what inſenſibility I hold this fire in my hands; and know, that with equal conſtancy I ſhall throw myſelf into the flames.*

Truth, falſehood, ſhame, and all ſorts of civil or religious prejudices, are therefore capable of exalting the mind of man to a contempt of life, the greateſt of all bleſſings; of death, the greateſt of all terrors; and of pain, the greateſt of all evils. Short-ſighted legiſlators, why have ye not diſcovered this powerful ſpring of action? Or, if ye have known it, why have ye not availed yourſelves of it, to attach us to our duties? What good fathers, what obedient children, what true friends, what faithful citizens, would ye not have made of us, by the mere diſtribution of the motives of honour and ſhame? If, in the Malabar country, the fear of contempt urges a young woman to throw herſelf into the flames, in what part of the world would not the ſame principle induce a mother to ſuckle her own child, or a wife to be true to her huſband?

This kind of courage, which is founded on prejudice rather than on character, is the only one the Indians poſſeſs. In other reſpects, they are of a weak, mild, and humane diſpoſition; and almoſt ſtrangers to ſeveral of the paſſions that prevail among us. What motive of ambition, indeed, could there be among men deſtined to continue always in the ſame ſtate? The conſtant and repeated exerciſe of the religious ceremo-

nies is the only pleaſure moſt of them enjoy. They love peaceable labour, and an indolent life; and often quote this paſſage of one of their favourite authors: *'Tis better to ſit ſtill, than to walk; better to ſleep, than to awake; but death is better than all.*

Their conſtitution, and the exceſſive heat of their climate, do not, as it has often been ſaid, reſtrain the impetuoſity of their ſenſual appetites, or weaken their propenſity to amorous pleaſures. The multitude of courteſans with which the country abounds, and the attention of the parents to marry their children before the ſexes can have any intercourſe with each other, are proofs of the violence of their paſſions. They are alſo addicted to avarice, the vice of weak bodies and narrow minds.

Their arts are of little conſequence. If we except their cottons, there is nothing that comes from India that has either taſte or elegance. The ſciences are ſtill more neglected; and the knowledge of the moſt learned Bramins does not go beyond the calculation of an eclipſe. Before the Tartars had penetrated into this country, there was not a ſingle bridge thrown over the rivers, to make them paſſable. Nothing can be more wretched than the houſes of prayer they have lately built. The ancient pagodas, it is true, aſtoniſh us, by their ſolidity and extent; but their ſtructure and ornaments are of the worſt kind. Repreſentations of animals and miracles, coarſely carved in brick, cover the outſide, as well as the inſide of the walls. In the midſt of the temple, upon an altar richly ornamented, ſtands a divinity, of a coloſſal ſize, which is blackened by the ſmoke of the lights that are conſtantly burning round it; and the front of which is always turned towards the principal gate, in order that thoſe among its worſhippers to whom the entrance of the ſanctuary is forbidden, may have a view of the object of their adoration. When the people repair to their exerciſes of devotion, they are uſhered in by the ſound of muſic; and they carry fans, for the purpoſe of keeping off inſects. The mode of do-

BOOK I. king homage to the idol, is, by ſongs, dances, and offerings. If the reputation of the divinity be ſpread far abroad, thouſands of pilgrims, in large caravans, are ſeen flocking in from the moſt diſtant places; who, in the courſe of their journey, are treated with the moſt generous hoſpitality. Theſe pious fanatics are never ſtopped in theſe laborious expeditions by the neceſſity of paying to the Mogul government a tribute proportioned to their quality.

The military claſs have choſen to fix their reſidence in the northern provinces; and the peninſula is chiefly inhabited by the inferior tribes. Hence it has happened, that all the powers who have attacked India on the ſide of the ſea, have met with ſo little reſiſtance. It may not be improper to remind thoſe philoſophers who maintain that man is an animal deſtined to ſubſiſt upon the fruits of the earth, that the military people who indulge in animal food, are more robuſt, courageous, and animated, and live longer than thoſe of the other claſſes who feed upon vegetables. It muſt, however, be acknowledged, that the difference between the inhabitants of the north and ſouth is of too uniform a caſt to be attributed entirely to the particular kind of nouriſhment they uſe. On one hand, the cold, the elaſticity of the air, leſs fertility, and more labour and exerciſe, with a more varied kind of life; all theſe circumſtances increaſe the appetite and the ſtrength, excite a ſpirit of reſolution and activity, and give a firmer tone and a longer power of duration to the organs: on the other, the heats of the ſouth; together with great quantities of fruit, the facility of ſubſiſting without an active life, a conſtant perſpiration, a more free and laviſh uſe of the means conducive to population, more indulgence in effeminate pleaſures, and a ſedentary and uniform courſe of exiſtence; theſe ſeveral circumſtances, while they increaſe the number of births, occaſion a ſpeedier diſſolution. Upon the whole, it ſhould ſeem, that, though man was not by nature formed to conſume the fleſh of animals, he is endued with a power of accommodating himſelf to the

various modes of life that prevail in every different climate; he therefore feeds upon the ſpoils of the chaſe, upon the produce of the waters, or upon the fruits of the earth; and becomes either a ſhepherd or a huſbandman, according to the fertility or barrenneſs of the ſoil he inhabits.

The religion of Brama, though ſimple in its origin, is divided into eighty-three ſects, which agree in ſome fundamental points, and have no diſputes about the reſt: they live in amity with men of all profeſſions, becauſe their own does not oblige them to make proſelytes. The Indians ſeldom admit ſtrangers to their worſhip, and always with extreme reluctance. This was, in ſome meaſure, the ſpirit of the ancient ſuperſtitions, as appears from the example of the Egyptians, the Jews, the Greeks, and the Romans: and though it has occaſioned leſs ravages than the zeal of making converts, yet ſtill it prevents the intercourſe of ſociety, and raiſes an additional barrier between one people and another.

When we conſider how bounteouſly Nature has provided for the happineſs of theſe fertile countries, where every want is eaſily ſupplied, and where the compaſſionate caſt and moral ſyſtem of the natives render them equally averſe from perſecution and the ſpirit of conqueſt, we cannot help lamenting that a barbarous inequality ſhould have diſtinguiſhed one part of the nation by power and privileges, while wretchedneſs and infamy are allotted to the reſt of the inhabitants. What can be the cauſe of this ſtrange abuſe of reaſon? It muſt doubtleſs be traced to that principle which has been the conſtant ſource of all the calamities that have befallen the inhabitants of this globe.

We need only ſuppoſe, that a powerful people, with few lights to direct them, adopt an original error, which ignorance brings into credit: this error ſoon becomes general, and is made the baſis of an entire ſyſtem of politics and morality; and men ſoon begin to find that their moſt innocent propenſities are in oppoſition

BOOK I. with their duties. In order to conform to this new plan of morality, perpetual violence muſt be offered to the plan of nature. This continual ſtruggle will introduce a moſt amazing contrariety into their manners; and the nation will be compoſed of a ſet of wretches, who will paſs their lives in mutually tormenting each other, and accuſing nature. Such is the picture of all the people upon earth, excepting, perhaps, a few ſocieties of ſavages. Abſurd prejudices have perverted human reaſon, and even ſtifled that inſtinct which teaches animals to reſiſt oppreſſion and tyranny. Multitudes of the human race really believe themſelves to be the property of a ſmall number of men who oppreſs them.

Such is the fatal progreſs of that original error which impoſture has either produced or kept up in the mind of man. May true knowledge revive thoſe rights of reaſonable beings, which to be recovered, need only to be felt! Sages of the earth, philoſophers of every nation, it is yours alone to make laws, by pointing out theſe rights to your fellow-citizens. Take the glorious reſolution to inſtruct your fellow-creatures, and be aſſured, that if truth is longer in diffuſing and eſtabliſhing itſelf than error, yet its empire is more ſolid and laſting. Error paſſeth away; but truth remains. Mankind, allured by the expectation of happineſs, the road to which you will ſhow them, will liſten to you with attention. Excite a ſenſe of ſhame in the breaſts of thoſe numerous hireling ſlaves, who are always ready, at the command of their maſters, to deſtroy their fellow-citizens. Rouſe all the powers of human nature to oppoſe this ſubverſion of ſocial laws. Teach mankind that liberty is the inſtitution of God; authority that of man. Expoſe thoſe myſterious arts which hold the world in chains and darkneſs: let the people be ſenſible how far their credulity has been impoſed upon; let them re-aſſume, with one accord, the uſe of their faculties, and vindicate the honour of the human race.

Beſide the natives, the Portugueſe found Moham-

medans in India, ſome of whom came from the borders of Africa. Moſt of them were deſcendents of the Arabs, who had either ſettled here, or made incurſions. They had poſſeſſed themſelves of all the countries as far as the Indus, by the force of arms. The moſt enterpriſing among them had afterwards paſſed this river, and penetrated by degrees as far as the extremities of the eaſt. On this immenſe continent they became the factors of Arabia and Egypt, and were treated with diſtinguiſhed reſpect by all the ſovereigns who wiſhed to keep up an intercourſe with theſe countries. Here they multiplied exceedingly; for as their religion allowed polygamy, they married in every place where they made any ſtay.

Their ſucceſs was ſtill more rapid and laſting in the iſlands that lie ſcattered in this ocean. The want of commerce procured them the beſt reception both from princes and their ſubjects. They ſoon roſe to the higheſt dignities in theſe petty ſtates, and became the arbiters of government. They took advantage of the ſuperiority of their knowledge, and the ſupport they received from their country, to eſtabliſh an univerſal dominion. The deſpots and their vaſſals, in order to ingratiate themſelves with them, abandoned a religion to which they had no great attachment, for new opinions which were to procure them ſome advantages. This ſacrifice was the leſs difficult for them, as the preachers of the Koran made no ſcruple of mixing ancient ſuperſtitions among thoſe they wiſhed to eſtabliſh.

Theſe Mohammedan Arabs, who were apoſtles and merchants at the ſame time, had already propagated their religion by purchaſing a great number of ſlaves, to whom, after they had been circumciſed and inſtructed in their doctrine, they gave their freedom; but as a certain pride prevented them from mixing their blood with that of theſe freedmen, the latter have in proceſs of time become a diſtinct people, inhabiting the coaſt of the Indian peninſula from Goa to Madraſs. They

BOOK I.

underſtand neither the Perſian, the Arabian, nor the Mooriſh language, and confine themſelves to that of the countries in which they live. Their religion is a ſpecies of Mohammedaniſm extremely corrupted by Indian ſuperſtitions. On the coaſt of Coromandel, where they are known by the name of Coolies, they are brokers, ſecretaries, merchants, and ſailors; and on the Malabar coaſt, where they are called Pooliahs, they exerciſe the ſame profeſſions, though with leſs credit; for their avaricious, falſe, and ſanguinary characters occaſion a general miſtruſt.

Conduct of the Portugueſe on the Malabar coaſt.

Indoſtan, which has ſince been almoſt entirely reduced by war under a foreign yoke, was, at the arrival of the Portugueſe, divided between the kings of Cambaya, Delhi, Biſnagar, Narzingua, and Calicut, each of which reckoned ſeveral ſovereigns, more or leſs powerful, among their tributaries. The laſt of theſe monarchs, who is better known by the name of Zamorin, which anſwers to that of emperor, than by the name of his capital city, poſſeſſed the moſt maritime ſtates, and his empire extended over all the Malabar.

There is an ancient tradition, that when the Arabs began to eſtabliſh themſelves in India in the eight century, the king of Malabar was ſo highly pleaſed with their religion, that he not only embraced the Mohammedan faith, but alſo reſolved to end his days at Mecca. Calicut, the place where he embarked, attracted ſo much the notice and reſpect of the Moors, that they inſenſibly acquired the habit of carrying their ſhips there. This port, however inconvenient and dangerous it was, became, from the mere effect of this ſuperſtition, the richeſt ſtaple of theſe countries. Precious ſtones, pearls, amber, ivory, china-ware, gold and ſilver, ſilks and cottons, indigo, ſugar, ſpices, valuable woods, perfumes, beautiful varniſhes, and whatever adds to the luxuries of life, were brought there from all parts of the Eaſt. Some of theſe rich commodities came by ſea; but as navigation was neither ſo ſafe,

nor purſued with ſo much ſpirit as it hath been ſince, a great part of them was conveyed by land on the backs of oxen and elephants.

Gama, informed of theſe particulars at Melinda, where he touched, took an able pilot from thence to conduct him to that port in which commerce was the moſt flouriſhing. Here he fortunately met with a Moor of Tunis, who underſtood the Portugueſe language, and who having been an aſtoniſhed witneſs of the exploits of theſe people on the coaſt of Barbary, had conceived an attachment for them, which roſe ſuperior to his prejudices. This predilection engaged the Moor to exert himſelf to the utmoſt of his power in the ſervice of theſe people, who placed an implicit confidence in him. He procured Gama an audience of the Zamorin, who propoſed an alliance and a treaty of commerce with the king his maſter. This was upon the point of being concluded, when the Muſſelmen found means to excite ſuſpicions againſt a rival power, whoſe courage, activity and knowledge they dreaded. The reports they made to him of the ambition and reſtleſs ſpirit of the Portugueſe, made ſuch an impreſſion on the mind of the prince, that he reſolved to deſtroy thoſe adventurers to whom he had juſt before given ſo favourable a reception.

Gama, apprized of this change by his faithful guide, ſent his brother back to the fleet, with the following inſtructions: *If you ſhould hear that I am thrown into priſon, or put to death, I forbid you, as your commander, either to come to my aſſiſtance, or avenge my death; ſet ſail immediately, and inform the king of the particulars of our voyage.*

Fortunately the Portugueſe were not reduced to theſe extremities. The Zamorin, however deſirous, did not dare to carry his deſign into execution; and the admiral was allowed to return to his fleet. After making ſome well-timed repriſals, which procured a reſtitution of the merchandiſe and of the hoſtages he had left in Calicut, he ſailed for Europe.

It is impoſſible to deſcribe the joy that prevailed at

BOOK I. Liſbon on his return. The inhabitants beheld themſelves on the point of eſtabliſhing the richeſt commerce in the world, and being as much addicted to ſuperſtition as to avarice, flattered themſelves at the ſame time that they ſhould propagate their religion, either by perſuaſion, or by the force of arms. The popes, who omitted no opportunity of confirming their opinion of their ſupreme authority upon earth, gave the Portugueſe all the coaſts they ſhould diſcover in the Eaſt, and inſpired this little ſtate with all the folly of conqueſt.

Numbers were eager to embark on board the new fleet that was fitted out for the expedition to India. Thirteen veſſels that ſailed from the Tagus, under the command of Alvares Cabral, arrived at Calicut, and reſtored ſome of the Zamorin's ſubjects, whom Gama had carried away with him. Theſe Indians ſpoke in the moſt favourable terms of the treatment they had received; but it was a long time before the Zamorin was reconciled to the Portugueſe; the Mooriſh party prevailed, and the people of Calicut, ſeduced by their intrigues, maſſacred fifty of the adventurers. Cabral, in revenge, burnt all the Arabian veſſels in the harbour, cannonaded the town, and then ſailed firſt to Cochin, and afterwards to Cananor.

The kings of both theſe towns gave him ſpices, offered him gold and ſilver, and propoſed an alliance with him againſt the Zamorin, to whom they were tributaries. The kings of Onor, Culan, and ſeveral other princes made the ſame overtures; flattering themſelves that they ſhould all be relieved from the tribute they paid to the Zamorin, that they ſhould extend the frontiers of their dominions, and ſee their harbours crowded with the ſpoils of Aſia. This general infatuation procured to the Portugueſe ſo great an aſcendant over the whole country of Malabar, that wherever they appeared they gave the law. No ſovereign was ſuffered to enter into an alliance with them, unleſs he would acknowledge himſelf dependent on the court of Liſbon, give leave that a citadel ſhould be built in

his capital, and ſell his merchandiſe at the price fixed by the buyer. The foreign merchant was obliged to wait till the Portugueſe had completed their lading; and no perſon was ſuffered to navigate theſe ſeas without producing paſſports from them. The wars in which they were unavoidably engaged, gave little interruption to their trade; with a ſmall number of men they defeated numerous armies; their enemies met with them every where, and always fled before them; and, in a ſhort time, the ſhips of the Moors, of the Zamorin and his dependants, no longer dared to make their appearance. BOOK I.

The Portugueſe, thus become the conquerors of the Eaſt, were perpetually ſending rich cargoes to their own country, which reſounded with the fame of their exploits. The port of Liſbon gradually became the reſort of all the traders in Europe, and the grand mart of Indian commodities; for the Portugueſe, who brought them immediately from India, ſold them at a lower rate than the merchants of other nations.

To ſecure and extend theſe advantages, it became neceſſary to call in the aid of reflection, to correct and ſtrengthen what had hitherto been the offspring of chance, of a ſingular intrepidity, and a happy concurrence of circumſtances. It was neceſſary to eſtabliſh a ſyſtem of power and commerce, which at the ſame time that it was extenſive enough to take in all objects, ſhould be ſo well connected, that all the parts of the grand edifice intended to be raiſed, ſhould mutually ſtrengthen each other. Notwithſtanding the information the court of Liſbon had received from the accounts tranſmitted from India, and the teſtimony of thoſe who had hitherto been intruſted with the management of its intereſts in that quarter; it wiſely repoſed all its confidence in Alphonſo Albuquerque, the moſt diſcerning of all the Portugueſe who had viſited Aſia.

The new viceroy acquitted himſelf beyond expectation: he found it neceſſary that Portugal ſhould have a ſettlement which might eaſily be defended, where

BOOK I. there was a good harbour and a wholeſome air, and where the Portugueſe might refreſh themſelves, after the fatigues of their paſſage from Europe. With this view he caſt his eyes upon Goa, which he foreſaw would be an important acquiſition to Liſbon.

Conqueſt of Goa by the Portugueſe.

Goa, which riſes in the form of an amphitheatre, is ſituated near the middle of the coaſt of Malabar, upon an iſland ſeparated from the continent by the two branches of a river, which iſſuing from the Balagate mountains, falls into the ſea at the diſtance of three leagues from the city, after having formed under its walls one of the fineſt harbours in the world. Numerous canals formed entirely by the hand of nature, thick woods with very good roads through them, meadows enamelled with an infinite variety of flowers, villas in the moſt pleaſing ſituations; all contribute to render this a delightful iſland, the circumference of which may be about ten leagues; and the land exhibits an agreeable variety of valleys and riſing grounds. Before the entrance into the road, we obſerve the two peninſulas of Salſette and Barda, which ſerve the double purpoſes of defence and ſhelter to the city. They are guarded by forts lined with artillery, where all ſhips are obliged to ſtop before they come to an anchor in the harbour.

Goa, though not ſo conſiderable at that time as it has been ſince, was looked upon as the moſt advantageous poſt in India. It belonged to the king of the Decan; but Idalcan, who was intruſted with the government of it, had aſſumed an independency, and endeavoured to extend his power in Malabar. While this uſurper was purſuing his ſchemes on the continent, Albuquerque appeared before the gates of Goa, took the city by ſtorm, and acquired this valuable advantage with very little loſs.

Idalcan, informed of the loſs he had ſuſtained, did not heſitate a moment what meaſures he ſhould take. In conjunction even with the Indians, his enemies, who were almoſt as much intereſted in this matter as himſelf, he marched towards the capital, with a degree

of expedition never before known in that country. The Portugueſe having no firm footing there, and finding themſelves unable to preſerve their conqueſt, retreated to their ſhips, which kept their ſtation in the harbour, and ſent to Cochin for a reinforcement. While they were waiting for it, their proviſions failed. Idalcan offered them a ſupply, giving them to underſtand, *That he choſe to conquer by arms, and not by famine.* It was cuſtomary at that time, in the Indian wars, for the armies to ſuffer proviſions to be carried to their enemies. Albuquerque rejected the offer made him, with this reply, *That he would receive no preſents from Idalcan till they were friends.* The ſuccour he hourly expected never arrived. BOOK I.

This diſappointment determined him to retreat, and to poſtpone the execution of his darling project to a more favourable opportunity, which preſented itſelf a few months after. Idalcan being obliged to take the field again to preſerve his dominions from abſolute deſtruction, Albuquerque made a ſudden attack upon Goa, which he carried by ſtorm, and fortified himſelf in the place. As the harbour of Calicut was good for nothing, and ceaſed to be frequented by the Arabian veſſels, all its trade and riches were transferred to this city, which became the metropolis of all the Portugueſe ſettlements in India.

The natives of the country were too weak, too diſpirited, and too much at variance, to put a ſtop to the ſucceſs of this enterpriſing nation. Nothing remained to be done but to guard againſt the Egyptians; nor was the leaſt precaution either omitted or neglected.

Manner in which the Europeans carried on trade with India before the Portugueſe had doubled the Cape of Good Hope.

Egypt, which is conſidered as the parent of all hiſtorical antiquities, the ſource of policy, and the nurſery of arts and ſciences, after having remained for ages in a ſtate of ſeparation from the reſt of the world, who were held in contempt by this wiſe country, underſtood and practiſed navigation. The inhabitants had long neglected the Mediterranean, where they did not certainly expect any great advantages, and directed

BOOK I.

their courſe towards the Indian Ocean, which was the true channel of wealth.

Struck with the ſituation of this country between two ſeas, one of which opens the road to the Eaſt, and the other to the Weſt, Alexander formed the deſign of fixing the ſeat of his empire in Egypt, and of making it the centre of trade to the whole world. This prince, who had more diſcernment than any other conqueror, ſaw that if it were poſſible to form an union between his preſent and future acquiſitions, he muſt make choice of a country which nature ſeems to have placed, as it were, in contact with Africa and Aſia, to connect them with Europe. The premature death of the greateſt commander that hiſtory and fable have held up to the admiration of mankind, would for ever have annihilated theſe vaſt projects, had they not been in part purſued by Ptolemy, one of his lieutenants, who, upon the diviſion of the moſt magnificent ſpoil ever known, claimed Egypt for his ſhare.

In the reign of this new ſovereign and his immediate ſucceſſors, commerce made prodigious improvements. Alexandria was the mart of the merchandiſe that came from India, and the port of Berenice on the Red Sea was put into a ſtate fit to receive them. In order to facilitate the communication between the two cities, a canal was digged, which iſſued from one of the branches of the Nile, and diſcharged itſelf into the Arabian Gulf. By the ſkilful management of ſeveral ſtreams, and by a great number of ſluices conſtructed with ingenuity, the canal was extended to the length of fifty leagues; its breadth was five and twenty toiſes, and its depth was made ſufficient for the ſhips it was intended to bear. This magnificent work, for ſome philoſophical reaſons, the detail of which would take up too much of our time, was not attended with thoſe advantages that were expected from it; ſo that it fell to ruin imperceptibly.

The government attempted, by every poſſible means, to ſupply the want of it. In the midſt of thoſe barren

and parched up deſerts through which it was neceſſary to paſs, different inns were eſtabliſhed, and repoſitories of water formed, where the travellers with their caravans refreſhed themſelves and their camels. BOOK I.

A writer, who has entered deeply into this ſubject, and whoſe accounts we follow, tells us, that ſome of the numerous veſſels that were built in conſequence of theſe connections, traded only in the gulf with the Arabians and Abyſſinians. Among thoſe which ventured out into the main ocean, ſome ſailed ſouthward to the right along the eaſtern coaſts of Africa, as far as the iſland of Madagaſcar; while others, ſteering to the left towards the Perſian Gulf, went even as far as the Euphrates, to trade with the people on its banks, particularly with the Greeks, whom Alexander had brought there with him in his expeditions. Others, grown ſtill more enterpriſing from the hopes of gain, penetrated as far as the mouths of the Indus, traverſed the coaſt of Malabar, and touched at the iſland of Ceylon, known to the ancients by the name of Taprobane. A very ſmall number paſſed through the Coromandel to go up the river Ganges, as far as Polybotra, a town the moſt celebrated in India on account of its riches. Thus induſtry proceeded by gradual advances, from one river or coaſt to another, to appropriate the productions of thoſe countries that abound moſt in fruits, flowers, perfumes, precious ſtones, and all the delicacies of voluptuous luxury.

The boats made uſe of in theſe expeditions were long and flat, not unlike thoſe that are ſeen upon the Nile. Before the invention of the compaſs, in conſequence of which larger veſſels, carrying more ſail, were fitted out for the main ocean, it was neceſſary to row cloſe to the ſhore, and to follow the windings of the coaſt from one point of land to another. The ſides of the ſhips were alſo made leſs, in order to weaken the power of the wind over them; and the ſhips were more ſhallow, leſt they ſhould ſtrike againſt rocks, ſands, or ſhallows. Thus a voyage, not ſo long by one-third as thoſe which are now performed in leſs

BOOK I. than ſix months, ſometimes laſted five years or more. The deficiency of the ſhips in ſize, was then ſupplied by numbers; and the diſadvantages of ſlow ſailing were compenſated by the frequent fleets that were fitted out.

The Egyptians exported to India the ſame articles that have been carried there ever ſince, to wit, woollen manufactures, iron, lead, copper, ſome ſmall pieces of workmanſhip in glaſs and ſilver, in exchange for ivory, ebony, tortoiſe-ſhell, white and printed linens, ſilks, pearls, precious ſtones, cinnamon, ſpices, and particularly frankincenſe; which was a perfume the moſt in eſteem, from its being uſed in divine worſhip, and contributing to the gratification of princes. It ſold at ſo high a price, that the merchants adulterated under pretence of improving it. So apprehenſive is avarice of being defrauded by poverty, that the workmen who were employed in making it were naked, having only a girdle about their loins, the ends of which were ſealed by the proprietor of the manufacture.

All the ſeafaring and trading nations in the Mediterranean reſorted to the ports of Egypt to purchaſe the productions of India. When Carthage and Corinth became the victims of the vices introduced by their opulence, the Egyptians were themſelves obliged to export the riches with which theſe cities formerly loaded their own veſſels. As their maritime power increaſed, they extended their navigation as far as Cadiz. They could ſcarcely ſupply the demands of Rome, the luxury of which kept pace with its conqueſts; at the ſame time that the Egyptians themſelves were arrived at ſuch a pitch of extravagance, that the accounts given of it have the air of romance. Cleopatra, with whom their empire and hiſtory expired, was as profuſe as ſhe was libidinous. But notwithſtanding theſe incredible expences, the advantages they derived from the Indian trade were ſo great, that, after they were ſubdued and plundered, lands, proviſions, and merchandiſe, bore double the price at Rome. If Pliny may be credited, the conqueror, by

reinſtating the conquered in this ſource of opulence, which was calculated rather to flatter their vanity than to aggrandiſe their power, gained twenty thouſand per cent. Though it be evident that this calculation is exaggerated, we may from thence form a conjecture of the profits that muſt have been gained in thoſe diſtant ages, when the Indians were not ſo well acquainted with their own intereſt. BOOK I.

While the Romans had virtue enough to preſerve the power acquired by their anceſtors, Egypt contributed greatly to ſupport the dignity of the empire by the riches it poured into it from India. But the fullneſs of luxury, like the corpulency of the body, is a ſymptom of approaching decay. This vaſt empire ſunk under its own weight, and, like levers of wood or metal, whoſe exceſſive length contributes to their weakneſs, it broke, and was divided into two immenſe parts.

Egypt was annexed to the eaſtern empire, which laſted longer than the weſtern, becauſe it was not attacked ſo early, or with ſo much vigour. If riches could have ſupplied the place of courage, its ſituation and reſources would even have made it invincible. But the inhabitants of this empire had nothing except ſtratagem to oppoſe againſt an enemy, who, to the enthuſiaſm of a new religion, joined all the ſtrength of an uncivilized people. A torrent, the ſwell of which was thus increaſing from the ravages it made, was not to be ſtopped by ſo ſlight a barrier. In the ſeventh century it ſwept away ſeveral provinces, and Egypt among the reſt; which, after having been one of the principal empires of antiquity, and the model of all modern monarchies, was at length deſtined to ſink into that ſtate of languor and oblivion, in which it remains to this day.

The Greeks comforted themſelves under this misfortune, on finding that the wars of the Saracens had diverted the ſtream of the Indian commerce from Alexandria to Conſtantinople, by two channels already well known. One of theſe was the Euxine or

BOOK I. Black Sea, where it was uſual to embark to go up the Phaſis; at firſt upon large veſſels, and afterwards upon ſmaller ones, which ſailed as far as Serapanna; from whence, in four or five days, the merchants conveyed their commodities by land-carriage to the river Cyrus, which falls into the Caſpian Sea. Having croſſed this tempeſtuous ocean, they arrived at the mouth of the Oxus, which extended almoſt as far as the ſource of the Indus, and from whence they returned the ſame way, laden with the treaſures of Aſia. Such was one of the means of communication between this continent, always naturally rich, and that of Europe, which was then poor, and ravaged by its own inhabitants.

The other channel of communication was more ſimple. The Indian veſſels, ſailing from different coaſts, paſſed the Perſian Gulf, and depoſited their cargoes on the banks of the Euphrates, from whence they were carried in a day or two to Palmyra, and were ſent off to the coaſts of Syria from that city; which undoubtedly owed its origin to the idea of its ſerving for that kind of ſtaple, eſtabliſhed in one of thoſe very uncommon parts of Arabia, where trees, water, and a ſoil ſuſceptible of cultivation, are to be found. This city, though ſituated between the two great empires of the Romans and Parthians, was ſtill for a long time allowed to remain neuter. It was at length ſubdued by Trajan, who did not withdraw any of its riches from it. It was even during the courſe of the hundred and fifty years of its being a Roman colony, that thoſe temples, porticos, and palaces, were raiſed within its walls, after the model of the Greek architecture; and the ruins of which, ſo accurately delineated, have lately excited ſo much of our admiration and aſtoniſhment. The proſperities of this celebrated city became fatal to it, ſince they determined the queen to attempt to throw off an allegiance which was not oppreſſive: it was utterly ruined by Aurelian. This emperor, it is true, afterwards permitted a few citizens, who had ſurvived the calamities of their country, to reſtore it, and to live there: but it is a more eaſy matter to de-

ſtroy than to rebuild. This ſeat of commerce, of arts, and of the grandeur of Zenobia, became gradually an obſcure place, a fortreſs of little conſequence, and at length a miſerable village, conſiſting of thirty or forty huts, built in the ſpacious circuit of a public edifice formerly of great magnificence.

Palmyra being deſtroyed, the caravans, after ſome fluctuations, conſtantly took the road of Aleppo; which, by means of the harbour of Alexandretta, turned the current of wealth to Conſtantinople, that was at length become the general mart of all the productions of India.

This ſingle advantage might have retarded the fall of the empire, and, perhaps, have reſtored it to its ancient grandeur: but that grandeur had been acquired by arms, by virtues, and by frugal manners; and it was now deſtitute of all thoſe means of maintaining its proſperity. The Greeks, corrupted by the prodigious acceſſion of wealth, which an excluſive commerce poured in upon them almoſt without any efforts or activity of their own, abandoned themſelves to that indolent and effeminate way of life, which is infallibly brought on by luxury; they gave up their time to the frivolous pleaſures of the brilliant and voluptuous arts, and to futile, obſcure, and ſophiſtical diſquiſitions on matters of taſte and ſentiment, and even of religion and politics. They could ſuffer themſelves to be oppreſſed, but knew not how to aſſert their right to be properly governed; and alternately made their court to tyrants by the moſt abject adulation, or irritated them by a faint reſiſtance. When the emperors had bought theſe people, they ſold them to all the monopolizers who aimed at enriching themſelves by the ruin of the ſtate. The government, ſtill more corrupted than its ſubjects, ſuffered its navy to decay, and placed its whole dependence on the treaties it entered into with the ſtrangers, whoſe ſhips frequented its ports. The Italians had inſenſibly engroſſed the carrying trade, which the Greeks had for a long time kept in their own hands. This branch of buſineſs,

BOOK I. which conſiſts more in activity than profit, was doubly uſeful to a trading nation, whoſe chief riches ariſe from maintaining their vigour by labour. Indolence haſtened the deſtruction of Conſtantinople, which was preſſed and ſurrounded on all ſides by the conqueſts of the Turks. The Genoeſe fell into the precipice which their perfidy and avarice had digged for them. Mohammed the Second drove them from Caffa, to which place they had, of late years, drawn the greateſt part of the Aſiatic trade.

The Venetians did not wait for this event to give them an opportunity of reviving their connections with Egypt. They had experienced more indulgence than they expected from a government eſtabliſhed ſince the laſt cruſades, and nearly reſembling that of Algiers. The Mammelucs, who at the time of theſe wars had taken poſſeſſion of a throne of which they had hitherto been the ſupport, were, for the moſt part, ſlaves brought from Circaſſia in their infancy, and trained up early to a military life. The ſupreme authority was veſted in a chief and a council compoſed of four-and-twenty principal perſons. This military corps, which eaſe would unavoidably have enervated, was recruited every year by a multitude of bold adventurers, who flocked from all parts, with a view of making their fortune. Theſe greedy people were prevailed upon, by a ſum of money and promiſes, to conſent that their country ſhould be made the mart of Indian merchandiſe; and were thus bribed into a meaſure, which the political intereſt of their ſtate would always have required them to adopt. The inhabitants of Piſa and Florence, of Catalonia and Genoa, received ſome benefit from this change; but it was of ſignal advantage to the Venetians, by whoſe management it was effected. Affairs were in this ſituation when the Portugueſe made their appearance in India.

This great event, and the conſequences that immediately followed it, occaſioned much uneaſineſs at Venice. This republic, ſo celebrated for its wiſdom, had lately been diſconcerted by a league which it could

not oppoſe, and which it certainly had no reaſon to foreſee. Several princes, of different intereſts, who were rivals in power, and had pretenſions of an oppoſite nature, united, in defiance of all the rules of juſtice and policy, to deſtroy a ſtate which had not given the leaſt umbrage to any of them; and even Lewis the XII. who, of all theſe princes, was the moſt intereſted in the preſervation of Venice, brought it to the brink of ruin by the victory of Aignadelle. The quarrels which muſt neceſſarily ariſe among ſuch allies, joined to the prudence of the republic, ſaved it from this danger, which, though more imminent in appearance, was, in fact, not ſo great nor ſo immediate, as that it was now expoſed to by the diſcovery of a paſſage to India by the Cape of Good Hope. BOOK I.

Venice ſoon perceived that her commerce, and conſequently her power, was on the point of being tranſferred to the Portugueſe. Every expedient was tried that an able adminiſtration could ſuggeſt. Some of the ſkilful emiſſaries, which the ſtate took care to retain and employ dexterouſly in all places, perſuaded the Arabs ſettled in their country, and thoſe that were diſperſed over India, or the eaſtern coaſt of Africa, that, as their intereſt was equally concerned with that of Venice, they ought to unite with her againſt a nation which had made itſelf miſtreſs of the common ſource of their riches.

The rumour of this league reached the Sultan of Egypt, whoſe attention was already awakened by the misfortunes he felt, as well as thoſe he foreſaw. The cuſtoms, which conſtituted a principal branch of his revenue, and by which five per cent. was levied on the importation, and ten on the exportation of Indian goods, began to bring in little or nothing. The frequent bankruptcies, which were the neceſſary conſequence of the embarraſſment of affairs, exaſperated mens minds againſt the government, which is always reſponſible to the people for the calamities they endure. The militia, which was ill paid, fearing that

BOOK I.

their ſubſiſtence would be ſtill more precarious, raiſed mutinies, which are more to be dreaded in the decline of a ſtate, than in the time of its proſperity. Egypt was equally a ſufferer by the trade which the Portugueſe themſelves carried on, as by the interruption which its own commerce experienced from their acts of violence.

The Egyptians might have extricated themſelves from theſe misfortunes by fitting out a fleet; but the Red Sea afforded no materials for this purpoſe. The Venetians removed this obſtacle, by ſending wood and other materials to Alexandria, which were conveyed by the Nile to Cairo, from whence they were carried by camels to Suez. In the year 1508, four large veſſels, one galleon, two galleys, and three galliots, were diſpatched from this celebrated port to India.

The Portugueſe make themſelves maſters of the Red Sea.

The Portugueſe, who foreſaw this confederacy, had, the preceding year, laid a ſcheme to prevent it, by making themſelves maſters of the Red Sea. They were certain, that, with this advantage, they ſhould have nothing to fear from this connection, nor from the combined forces of Egypt and Arabia. With this view, they formed a plan to ſeize upon the iſland of Socotora, which is ſituated at the diſtance of a hundred and eighty leagues from the Straits of Babelmandel, which are formed by Cape Guardafeu on the African ſide, and by Cape Fartack on the ſide of Arabia.

Another advantage was to ariſe to them from this conqueſt, that of being poſſeſſed of the moſt perfect aloes that have ever been known.

The plant which produces this juice, and gives it its name, is furniſhed with a number of thick leaves; from the midſt of which there iſſues a very beautiful cluſter of red flowers. Theſe leaves are gathered, and the fluid they contain is extracted by a ſlight degree of preſſure. This fluid being cleanſed of its groſſer particles, and inſpiſſated by the heat of the ſun, form the ſuccotrine aloes, which is eaſily diſtinguiſhed from

the other kinds, by its yellow colour, its brightneſs, its transparency, its powerful ſmell, and its bitter and aromatic taſte.

Triſtan d'Acunha ſailed from Portugal with a conſiderable armament, to attack this iſland. Upon his landing, he was oppoſed by Ibrahim, ſon of the king of the people of Fartack, who was ſovereign of part of Arabia and Socotora. This young prince was killed in the engagement; the Portugueſe beſieged the only town that was in the iſland, and carried it by ſtorm, though it was defended to the laſt extremity by a garriſon ſuperior in number to their ſmall army. The ſoldiers that compoſed this garriſon reſolved not to ſurvive the ſon of their ſovereign, refuſed to capitulate, and were all, to the laſt man, put to the ſword. The intrepidity of d'Acunha's troops was not to be damped by theſe exertions of courage.

This ſucceſsful enterpriſe was not attended with the advantages that were expected from it. It was found that the iſland was barren, that it had no port, and that the ſhips which came from the Red Sea never touched there, though they could not enter the Gulf without taking an obſervation of it. Accordingly, the Egyptian fleet found a ſafe paſſage into the Indian Ocean, where it joined that of Cambaya. Theſe united armaments were ſucceſsful againſt the Portugueſe, who were conſiderably weakened by the great number of veſſels they had lately diſpatched with merchandiſe to Europe. This triumph, however, did not laſt long; the conquered party were ſupplied with reinforcements, and regained their ſuperiority, which they ever after preſerved. The armaments which continued to come from Egypt, were always beaten and diſperſed by the ſmall Portugueſe ſquadrons that cruized at the entrance of the Gulf.

As theſe ſkirmiſhes, however, kept up a conſtant alarm, and occaſioned ſome expence, Albuquerque thought it incumbent on him to put an end to them by the deſtruction of Suez: a project which was thwarted by a variety of obſtacles.

BOOK I. The Red Sea, which ſeparates Arabia from Upper Ethiopia and part of Egypt, is three hundred and fifty leagues in length, and forty in breadth. As there is no river falling into it of ſufficient force to counteract the influence of the tide, it is more affected by the motions of the great ocean, than any of the inland ſeas nearly in the ſame latitude. It is not much expoſed to tempeſts; the winds uſually blow from north and ſouth, and being periodical, like the monſoons in India, invariably determine the ſeaſon of ſailing into or out of this ſea. It may be divided into three parts; the middle diviſion is clear and navigable at all times, its depth being from twenty-five to ſixty fathoms. The other two diviſions, which lie nearer the land, though they abound in ſhoals, are more frequented by the neighbouring nations; who, being obliged to keep cloſe to the ſhore, on account of the ſmallneſs of their veſſels, never launch out into the principal channel, unleſs they expect a ſquall of wind. The difficulty, not to ſay impoſſibility, of landing in the harbours on this coaſt, makes the navigation dangerous for veſſels of large burthen; not to mention the great number of deſert iſlands they meet with in their paſſage, which are barren, and afford no ſupply of freſh water.

Albuquerque, notwithſtanding his abilities, experience, and reſolution, could not ſurmount ſo many difficulties. After entering a conſiderable way into the Red Sea, he was obliged to return with his fleet, which had ſuffered perpetual hardſhips, and been expoſed to the greateſt dangers. He was prompted, by a reſtleſs and cruel ſpirit of enterpriſe, to employ methods for the accompliſhment of his deſigns, which, though of a ſtill bolder caſt, he thought could not fail of ſucceſs. He endeavoured to perſuade the emperor of Ethiopia, who ſolicited the protection of Portugal, to turn the courſe of the Nile, ſo as to open a paſſage for him into the Red Sea. Egypt would then have become, in a great meaſure, uninhabitable, or at leaſt unfit for commerce. In the mean time, he propoſed to tranſport into Arabia, by the Gulf of Perſia,

BOOK I.

three or four hundred horſe, which, he thought, would be ſufficient to plunder Medina and Mecca. He imagined, that, by ſo bold an expedition, he ſhould ſtrike terror into the Mohammedans, and put a ſtop to that prodigious concourſe of pilgrims which was the chief ſupport of a trade he wiſhed totally to extirpate.

Other enterpriſes, of a leſs hazardous nature, and attended with more immediate advantage, led him to poſtpone the ruin of a power, the influence of which, as a rival, was the only circumſtance neceſſary to be guarded againſt at the preſent juncture. The conqueſt of Egypt by the Turks, a few years after, made it requiſite to act with the greater precaution. Men of genius, whoſe minds were capable of purſuing the ſeries of events which had preceded and followed the diſcovery of the paſſage by the Cape of Good Hope, and of forming deep conjectures concerning the revolutions which this new track of navigation muſt neceſſarily prevent, could not help conſidering this remarkable tranſaction as the moſt important era in the hiſtory of the world.

Dangers from which Europe has been preſerved by the dominion of the Portugueſe over the Red Sea.

Europe had but juſt begun to recover its ſtrength, and to ſhake off the yoke of ſlavery, which had diſgraced its inhabitants from the time of the Roman conqueſts down to the inſtitution of the feudal laws. Innumerable tyrants, who kept multitudes in a ſtate of oppreſſion and ſlavery, had been ruined by the folly of the cruſades. To defray the expences of theſe romantic expeditions, they had been obliged to ſell their lands and caſtles; and, for a pecuniary conſideration, to allow their vaſſals ſome privileges, which at length almoſt reinſtated them in the order of human beings. From that time, the right of property began to be introduced among individuals, and gave them that kind of independence without which, property itſelf is a mere illuſion. Thus the firſt dawnings of liberty in Europe were, however unexpectedly, owing to the cruſades; and the rage of conqueſt for once contributed to the happineſs of mankind.

If Vaſco de Gama had not made his diſcoveries, the

BOOK I. ſpirit of liberty would have been again extinguiſhed, and, probably, without hopes of a revival. The Turks were upon the point of expelling thoſe ſavage nations, who, pouring from the extremities of the globe, had driven out the Romans, to become, like them, the ſcourges of human kind; and our barbarous inſtitutions would have been ſupplanted by oppreſſions ſtill more intolerable. This muſt inevitably have been the caſe, if the ſavage conquerors of Egypt had not been repulſed by the Portugueſe, in their ſeveral expeditions to India. Their poſſeſſion of the riches of Aſia would have ſecured their claim to thoſe of Europe. As the trade of the whole world would have been in their hands, they muſt conſequently have had the greateſt maritime force that ever had been known. What oppoſition could our continent then have made to the progreſs of a people whoſe religion and policy equally inſpired them with the idea of conqueſt?

Diſſenſions were then prevailing in England, for the recovery of its liberties; France was contending for the intereſts of its ſovereigns; Germany for thoſe of its religion; and Italy was employed in adjuſting the mutual claims of a tyrant and an impoſtor. Europe, overrun with fanatics and armies, reſembled a ſick perſon, who, falling into a delirium, in the paroxyſm of madneſs, opens his veins, till he faints with loſs of blood and ſpirits. In this ſtate of weakneſs and anarchy, it was ill prepared to reſiſt the inroads of the Turks.

As the calm which ſucceeds the tempeſtuous ſeaſon of civil wars makes a nation formidable to its neighbours; ſo the factions which divide it, as certainly expoſe it to ravage and oppreſſion. The depraved morals of the clergy would have been a further encouragement to the introduction of a new worſhip; and we ſhould have been condemned to a ſtate of ſlavery without any hopes of relief. There is not one, indeed, among all the political and religious ſyſtems that oppreſs mankind, which allows ſo little ſcope to liber-

ty as that of the Muſſelmen. Throughout almoſt all Europe, a religion foreign to government, and introduced without its patronage; rules of morality diſperſed without order or preciſion in obſcure writings, capable of an endleſs variety of interpretations; authority engroſſed by prieſts and princes, who are perpetually conteſting their right to rule over their fellow-creatures; political and civil inſtitutions daily formed in contradiction to the prevailing religion, which condemns ambition and inequality of rank; a turbulent and enterpriſing adminiſtration, which, in order to tyrannize with a higher hand, is perpetually ſetting one part of the ſtate at variance with the other: all theſe principles of diſcord muſt neceſſarily keep the minds of men in conſtant agitation. Is it ſurpriſing that on the view of this tumultuous ſcene, nature, alarmed, ſhould riſe up in our hearts, and cry out, "Is man "born free?" BOOK I.

But when men once became ſlaves to a religion which conſecrates tyranny by eſtabliſhing the throne upon the altar; which ſeems to check the ſallies of ambition by encouraging voluptuouſneſs; and cheriſhes a ſpirit of indolence, by forbidding the exerciſe of the underſtanding: there is no reaſon to hope for any conſiderable revolutions. Thus the Turks, who frequently ſtrangle their maſter, have never entertained a thought of changing their government. This is an idea beyond the reach of minds enervated and corrupted like theirs. The whole world would, therefore, have loſt its liberty, had not the moſt ſuperſtitious, and, perhaps, the moſt enſlaved nation in Chriſtendom checked the progreſs of the fanaticiſm of the Mohammedans, and put a ſtop to the career of their victories, by depriving them of thoſe ſources of wealth which were neceſſary to the ſucceſs of their enterpriſes. Albuquerque went ſtill further; not ſatisfied with having taken effectual meaſures to prevent any veſſel from paſſing from the Arabian Sea to the Indian Ocean, he attempted to acquire the command of the Perſian Gulf.

BOOK I.

The Portugueſe make themſelves maſters of the Perſian Gulf.

At the mouth of the ſtrait of Mocandon, which leads into the Perſian Gulf, ſtands the iſland of Gombroon. In the eleventh century, an Arabian conqueror built upon this barren rock the city of Ormus, which afterwards became the capital of an empire, comprehending a conſiderable part of Arabia on one ſide, and of Perſia on the other. Ormus had two good harbours, and was large and well fortified; its riches and ſtrength were entirely owing to its ſituation. It was the centre of trade between Perſia and India; which was very conſiderable, at a time when the Perſians conveyed moſt of the merchandiſe brought from Aſia to Europe, through the ports of Syria or Caſſa. In the ſeaſons which permitted the foreign merchants to come there, Ormus afforded a more ſplendid and agreeable ſcene than any city in the Eaſt. Perſons from all parts of the globe exchanged their commodities, and tranſacted their buſineſs there, with an air of politeneſs and attention which are ſeldom ſeen in other places of trade.

Theſe manners were introduced by the merchants belonging to the port, who engaged foreigners to imitate their affability. Their addreſs, the regularity of their police, and the variety of entertainments which their city afforded, joined to the intereſts of commerce, invited merchants to make it a place of reſort. The ſtreets were covered with mats, and in ſome places with carpets; and the linen awnings which were ſuſpended from the tops of the houſes, prevented any inconvenience from the heat of the ſun. Indian cabinets ornamented with gilded vaſes, or china filled with flowering ſhrubs, or aromatic plants, adorned their apartments. Camels laden with water were ſtationed in the public ſquares. Perſian wines, perfumes, and all the delicacies of the table were furniſhed in the greateſt abundance, and they had the muſic of the Eaſt in its higheſt perfection. Ormus was crowded with beautiful women from all parts of Aſia, who were inſtructed from their infancy in all the arts of varying and heightening the pleaſures of voluptuous love. In a word, univerſal opulence, an extenſive commerce, a

refined luxury, politeneſs in the men, and gallantry in the women, united all their attractions to make this city the ſeat of pleaſure. BOOK I.

Albuquerque, on his arrival in India, began to ravage the coaſts, and to plunder the towns that belonged to the juriſdiction of Ormus: though theſe inroads, which ſhowed more of the robber than of the conqueror, were naturally repugnant to Albuquerque's character, he thought himſelf obliged to have reſourſe to them, in order to induce a power he was not in a condition to ſubdue by force, to ſubmit voluntarily to the yoke he wanted to impoſe. As ſoon as he imagined the alarm was ſpread ſufficiently to favour his deſign, he appeared before the capital, and ſummoned the king to acknowledge himſelf tributary to Portugal, as he was to Perſia. This propoſal was received in the manner it deſerved. A fleet compoſed of ſhips from Ormus, Arabia, and Perſia, came to an engagement with Albuquerque's ſquadron, who, with five veſſels, deſtroyed the whole armament. The king, diſcouraged by his ill ſucceſs, conſented that the conqueror ſhould erect a fort which might command the city and both its harbours.

Albuquerque, who knew the importance of ſeizing the preſent conjuncture, carried on the work with the utmoſt expedition. He laboured as hard as the meaneſt of his followers; but this ſpirit of activity could not prevent the enemy from taking notice of the ſmallneſs of his numbers. Atar, who, in conſequence of the revolutions ſo frequent in the Eaſt, had been raiſed from the condition of a ſlave, to that of a prime miniſter, was aſhamed of having ſacrificed the ſtate to a handful of adventurers. As his talent lay rather in the arts of policy than of war, he determined to repair the ill conſequences of his timidity by ſtratagem. By the arts of inſinuation and bribery, he ſucceeded ſo far in ſowing diſſenſions among the Portugueſe, and prejudicing them againſt their leader, that they were frequently ready to take arms againſt each other. This animoſity, which increaſed every day, de-

BOOK I. termined them to reimbark at the inſtant they were informed that a plot was concerted to maſſacre them. Albuquerque, whoſe ſpirit roſe ſuperior to oppoſition and diſcontent, reſolved to ſtarve the place, and deprive it of ſuccours by cutting of all communication. It muſt certainly have fallen into his hands, had not three of his captains ſhamefully abandoned him, and gone off with their ſhips. To juſtify their deſertion, they were guilty of ſtill blacker perfidy, in accuſing their general of the moſt atrocious crimes.

This treachery obliged Albuquerque to defer the execution of his deſign for ſome time, till he had all the national troops at his command. As ſoon as he was appointed viceroy, he appeared before Ormus with ſo ſtrong an armament, that a debauched court and an effeminate people, finding it in vain to make any reſiſtance, were obliged to ſubmit. The ſovereign of Perſia had the confidence to demand tribute of the conqueror. Albuquerque ordered ſome bullets, grenades, and ſabres to be produced to the envoy, telling him, that this was the kind of tribute paid by the king of Portugal.

After this expedition, the power of the Portugueſe was ſo firmly eſtabliſhed in the Arabian and Perſian Gulfs, and on the Malabar coaſt, that they began to think of extending their conqueſts into the eaſtern parts of Aſia.

The Portugueſe form a ſettlement at Ceylon.

The iſland of Ceylon, which is eighty leagues long, and thirty at its greateſt breadth, firſt preſented itſelf to Albuquerque. In the moſt remote ages of antiquity, it was well known by the name of Taprobane. We have no accounts tranſmitted to us of the revolutions it has undergone. All that hiſtory relates worthy of remark is, that the laws were formerly holden in ſuch reſpect there, that the monarch was under the ſame obligation of obſerving them as the meaneſt of his ſubjects. If he violated them, he was condemned to death; with this mark of diſtinction, however, that he did not ſuffer in an ignominious manner. He was denied all intercourſe, all the comforts and ſupports of

life: and, in this kind of excommunication, miſerably ended his days. BOOK I.

If the people knew their own prerogatives, this cuſtom, anciently obſerved in Ceylon, would ſtill ſubſiſt in all parts of the earth; but while the ſubject only is amenable to the laws, whatever title he may give himſelf, he will be no more then a ſlave. The law is nothing, unleſs it be a ſword, acting indiſcriminately upon the head of every individual, and ſtriking off every thing that riſes above the horizontal direction in which it moves. The law has no authority, unleſs that authority be extended over all without exception; for in the ſight of the law, as in the ſight of God, all men are equal. The puniſhment of an individual avenges only the infraction of the law; the puniſhment of the ſovereign avenges the contempt of it. Who ſhall dare bid defiance to the law, if even the ſovereign cannot do it with impunity? The remembrance of ſo great a leſſon is perpetuated for ages, and excites a more ſalutary dread than the death of a thouſand other criminals.

When the Portugueſe landed in Ceylon, they found it well peopled, and inhabited by two nations, which differed from each other in their manners, their government, and their religion. The Bedas, who were ſettled in the northern parts of the iſland, where the country was leſs fertile, were diſtinguiſhed into tribes, which conſidered themſelves as ſo many families headed by a chief, whoſe power was not abſolute. They went almoſt naked, and, upon the whole, their manners and government were the ſame with that of the Highlanders in Scotland. Theſe tribes, which unite for the common defence, have always bravely fought for their liberty, and have never invaded that of their neighbours. Their religion is little known, and it is uncertain whether they have any form of worſhip. They have little intercourſe with ſtrangers; keep a watchful eye over thoſe who travel through the diſtrict they inhabit; treat them well, and ſend them away as ſoon as poſſible. This caution is partly owing to

BOOK I. the jealouſy the Bedas entertain of their wives, which contributes to eſtrange them from all the world. They ſeem to have been the firſt inhabitants of the iſland.

The ſouthern part is poſſeſſed by a more numerous and powerful people, called Cinglaſſes. This nation is polite, in compariſon of the other. They wear clothes, and live under an arbitrary government. They have a diſtinction of caſts, as well as the Indians; but their religion is different. They acknowledge one ſupreme being, and in ſubordination to him, divinities of the ſecond and third order: all which have their prieſts. Among the deities of the ſecond order, particular honours are paid to Buddou, who deſcended upon earth to take upon himſelf the office of mediator between God and mankind. The prieſts of Buddou are perſons of great conſequence in Ceylon. They are never puniſhable by the prince, even for an attempt againſt his life. The Cinglaſſes underſtand the art of war. They know how to take advantage of the natural ſecurity their mountains afford againſt the attacks of the Europeans, whom they have often defeated. Like all people who live in arbitrary ſtates, they are deceitful, ſelfiſh, and full of compliment. They have two languages: one peculiar to the people, the other to the learned. Wherever this cuſtom prevails, it furniſhes prieſts and princes with a further opportunity of impoſing upon mankind.

Both theſe nations enjoyed the benefits of the fruits, the corn, and the paſture which abounded in the iſland. They had elephants without number; precious ſtones, and the only kind of cinnamon that was ever eſteemed. On the northern coaſt, and on the fiſhing coaſts which border upon it, was carried on the greateſt pearl fiſhery in the Eaſt. The harbours of Ceylon were the beſt in India, and its ſituation was ſuperior to all its other advantages.

It ſhould ſeem that it was the intereſt of the Portugueſe to have placed all their ſtrength in this iſland. It lies in the centre of the Eaſt; and is the paſſage that leads to the richeſt countries. It might have been

well peopled and fortified with a ſmall number of men, and at a very little expence. The numerous ſquadrons that might have been ſent out from every port in the iſland would have kept all Aſia in awe; and the ſhips that might have cruized in thoſe latitudes, would eaſily have intercepted the trade of other nations.

The viceroy overlooked theſe advantages. He alſo neglected the coaſt of Coromandel, though richer than that of Malabar. The merchandiſe of the latter was of an inferior quality: it produced plenty of proviſions, a ſmall quantity of bad cinnamon, ſome pepper and cardamom, a kind of ſpice much uſed by the eaſtern people. The coaſt of Coromandel furniſhed the fineſt cottons in the world. Its inhabitants, who for the moſt part were natives of the country, and had leſs intercourſe with the Arabians and other nations, were the moſt humane and induſtrious of all the people in Indoſtan. To this we may add, that the paſſage along the coaſt of Coromandel towards the north, leads to the mines of Golconda: and, moreover, this coaſt is admirably ſituated for the trade of Bengal and other countries.

Notwithſtanding this, Albuquerque made no ſettlement there. The ſettlements of St. Thomas and Negapatan were not formed till afterwards. He knew that this coaſt was deſtitute of harbours, and inacceſſible at certain periods of the year, when it would be impoſſible for the fleets to protect the colonies. In a word, he thought that when the Portugueſe had made themſelves maſters of Ceylon, a conqueſt begun by his predeceſſor d'Almeyda, and afterwards completed, they might command the trade of Coromandel, if they got poſſeſſion of Malacca. He therefore determined to make the attempt.

The Portugueſe conquer Malacca.

The country, of which Malacca is the capital city, is a narrow tract of land, about a hundred leagues in length. It joins to the continent towards the northern coaſt, where it borders on the ſtate of Siam, or, more properly, the kingdom of Johor, which has been ſeparated from it. The reſt is ſurrounded by the ſea,

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BOOK I.

and divided from the iſland of Sumatra by a channel which is called the ſtraits of Malacca.

Nature had amply provided for the happineſs of the Malays, by placing them in a mild, healthy climate, where refreſhing gales and cooling ſtreams allay the fervour of the torrid zone; where the ſoil pours forth an abundance of delicious fruits to ſatisfy the wants of a ſavage life; and where it is capable of anſwering, by cultivation, all the neceſſary demands of ſociety; where the trees wear an eternal verdure, and the flowers bloom in perpetual ſucceſſion; where the moſt delicate and fragrant odours breathing from aromatic plants, perfume the air, and infuſe a ſpirit of voluptuous delight into all living beings.

But while nature has done every thing in favour of the Malays, ſociety has done them every poſſible injury. Such has been the influence of a tyrannical government, that the inhabitants of the happieſt country in the univerſe have become remarkable for the ferocity of their manners. The feudal ſyſtem, firſt planted among the rocks and woods of the North, had extended itſelf even to the foreſts and mild regions of the equator, where every thing conſpires to promote the enjoyment of a long life of tranquillity, which can only be ſhortened by a too frequent and exceſſive indulgence in pleaſures. This enſlaved nation is under the dominion of an arbitrary prince, or rather of twenty tyrants, his repreſentatives. Thus the deſpotiſm of a ſultan ſeems to extend its oppreſſive influence to multitudes, by being divided among a number of powerful vaſſals.

This turbulent and oppreſſive ſcene gave riſe to an univerſal ſavageneſs of manners. In vain did heaven and earth ſhower their bleſſings upon Malacca; theſe bleſſings only ſerved to make its inhabitants ungrateful and unhappy. The maſters let out their ſervices, or rather thoſe of their dependents, for hire, to the beſt bidder, regardleſs of the loſs that agriculture would ſuſtain for want of hands. They preferred a wandering and adventurous life, either by ſea or land, to in-

duſtry. This people had conquered a large Archipelago, well known in the Eaſt by the name of the Malayan Iſlands. The numerous colonies that were tranſplanted thither, carried with them their laws, their manners, their cuſtoms, and, what is ſomething remarkable, the ſofteſt language in all Aſia.

The ſituation of Malacca had, however, made it the moſt conſiderable market in India; its harbour was conſtantly crowded with veſſels either from Japan, China, the Philippine and Molucca iſlands, and the adjacent part of the eaſtern coaſt; or from Bengal, Coromandel, Malabar, Perſia, Arabia, and Africa. Theſe merchants carried on a ſafe trade among themſelves, or with the inhabitants: the paſſion of the Malays for plunder, had at length given way to advantages of a more certain nature than the precarious and doubtful ſucceſs of piratical expeditions.

The Portugueſe were deſirous of having a ſhare in the general commerce of Aſia. At firſt they appeared at Malacca in the character of merchants; but their uſurpations in India had rendered their deſigns ſo much ſuſpected, and the animoſity of the Arabians had circulated reports ſo much to their diſadvantage, that meaſures were taken to deſtroy them. They fell into the ſnares that were laid for them; ſeveral of them were maſſacred, and others thrown into priſon. Thoſe who eſcaped got back to their ſhips, and retreated to the Malabar coaſt.

Though Albuquerque did not intend to wait for a rupture to afford him a pretence of ſeizing upon Malacca, he was not diſpleaſed at this incident, ſince it gave his enterpriſe an appearance of juſtice that might leſſen the odium which ſuch a ſtep muſt naturally have drawn upon the Portugueſe name. As an impreſſion ſo favourable to his views might have been weakened by delay, he did not heſitate a moment to take his revenge. The enemy expected a ſudden blow; and accordingly, when he appeared before the place, in the beginning of the year 1511, he found every thing in readineſs to receive him.

BOOK I.

But formidable as theſe preparations appeared, there was a ſtill greater obſtacle, which for ſome days damped the valour of the Chriſtian general: his friend Araûjo had been taken priſoner in the firſt expedition, and the enemy threatened to put him to death the moment the ſiege ſhould begin. Albuquerque, who did not want ſenſibility, pauſed at the proſpect of his friend's danger, when he received the following billet; *Think of nothing but the glory and advantage of Portugal; if I cannot contribute towards your victory, at leaſt let me not be the means of preventing it.* The place was attacked and carried after ſeveral doubtful, bloody, and obſtinate engagements. They found in it immenſe treaſure, vaſt magazines, and whatever could contribute to the elegances and pleaſures of life; and a fort was erected there to ſecure the conqueſt.

As the Portugueſe contented themſelves with the poſſeſſion of the city, the inhabitants, who profeſſed a kind of corrupt Mohammediſm, and were unwilling to ſubmit to their new maſters, either retired into the inland parts, or diſperſed themſelves along the coaſt. Having loſt the ſpirit of commerce, they relapſed into all the exceſſes of their violent character. Theſe people never go without a poniard, which they call *crid.* The invention of this murderous weapon ſeems to have exhauſted all the powers of their ſanguinary genius. Nothing is more to be dreaded than ſuch men armed with ſuch an inſtrument. When they get on board a veſſel, they ſtab all the crew at the time when no harm is ſuſpected. Since their treachery has been known, all the Europeans take care never to employ a Malayan ſailor; but theſe barbarians, who always made it a rule to attack the weaker party, have now changed this ancient cuſtom, and, animated by an unaccountable reſolution to kill or be killed, come in boats with thirty men to board our veſſels, and ſometimes ſucceed in carrying them off: if they are repulſed, they have the ſatisfaction, at leaſt, of having imbrued their hands in blood.

People who derive from nature ſuch inflexible brave-

ry, may be exterminated, but cannot be ſubdued by force. They are only to be civilized by humane treatment, by the allurements of riches or liberty, by the influence of virtue and moderation, and by a mild government. They muſt be reſtored to their rights, or left to themſelves, before we can hope to eſtabliſh any intercourſe with them. To attempt to reduce them by conqueſt, is, perhaps, the laſt method that ſhould be tried, as it will only increaſe their abhorrence of a foreign yoke, and diſcourage them from entering into any ſocial engagements. Nature has placed certain people in the midſt of the ocean, like lions in the deſerts, that they may enjoy their liberty. Tempeſts, ſands, foreſts, mountains, and caverns, are the places of refuge and defence to all independent beings. Civilized nations ſhould take care how they invade the rights, or rouſe the ſpirits of iſlanders and ſavages: as they may be aſſured that they will become cruel and barbarous to no purpoſe; that their ravages will make them deteſted; and that diſgrace and revenge are the only laurels they can expect to obtain. BOOK I.

After the reduction of Malacca, the kings of Siam, Pegu, and ſeveral others, alarmed at a conqueſt ſo fatal to their independence, ſent ambaſſadors to congratulate Albuquerque, to make him an offer of their trade, and to deſire an alliance with Portugal.

Affairs being in this ſituation, a ſquadron was detached from the fleet to the Moluccas. Theſe iſlands, which lie in the Indian Ocean near the equinoxial, are ten in number, including, as uſual, thoſe of Banda. The largeſt is not more than twelve leagues in circumference, and the others are much ſmaller. Settlement of the Portugueſe in the Moluccas Iſlands.

This cluſter of iſlands ſeems to have been thrown up by the ſea; and may with reaſon be ſuppoſed to be the effect of ſome ſubterraneous fire. Lofty mountains, the ſummits of which are loſt in the clouds; enormous rocks heaped one upon another; horrid and deep caverns; torrents which precipitate themſelves with extreme violence; volcanos, perpetually announ-

BOOK I. cing impending deſtruction: ſuch are the phænomena that give riſe to this idea, or aſſiſt in confirming it.

It is not known who were the firſt inhabitants of theſe iſlands; but it is certain that the Javans and the Malays have ſucceſſively been in poſſeſſion of them. At the beginning of the ſixteenth century they were inhabited by a kind of ſavages, whoſe chiefs, though honoured with the title of kings, poſſeſſed only a limited authority, totally depending on the caprice of their ſubjects. They had, of late years, joined the ſuperſtitions of Mohammediſm to thoſe of Paganiſm, which they had profeſſed for a conſiderable time. Their indolence was exceſſive. Their only employment was hunting and fiſhing; and they were ſtrangers to all kind of agriculture. They were encouraged in their inactivity by the advantages they derived from the cocoa tree.

The cocoa tree, which grows ſpontaneouſly in almoſt every part of India, is a tree of a very beautiful form, which riſes to the height of forty, and more commonly ſixty feet. It is fixed in the ground by a great number of ſlender and fibrous roots. Its trunk, which has a trifling bend towards the baſis, is ſtraight throughout the reſt of its length, of a cylindrical form, of moderate thickneſs, and marked with ſeveral circular inequalities, formed by the baſis of the leaves which have fallen off from it. Its wood is of ſo light and ſpongy a nature, that it is unfit for ſhip-timber, or for any building that requires ſolidity; and the boats which are made of it are brittle, and do not laſt long. The tuft is compoſed of ten or twelve pinnated leaves, tapered towards the top, very broad at their baſis, and covered, in the infant ſtate of the tree, with a kind of network, of which ſieves are made. Their centre coſta, which is twelve feet long, is deeply furrowed on its internal ſurface. The roofs of houſes are covered in with theſe leaves; and they are uſed in making umbrellas, ſails, and fiſhing-nets: the youngeſt of them may even ſerve inſtead of paper, and will receive the

impreſſion of characters marked with a pencil. From the midſt of this tuft there ariſes a thick membranous ſpatha or ſheath, convoluted, ſwelled out in the middle, and terminating in a point. When this is grown to a certain ſize, it opens on one ſide, and diſplays a very conſiderable panicle, each ſtem of which bears two female, and a greater number of male flowers. The latter have a calix with ſix deep diviſions, and as many ſtamina; in the former, a piſtil is ſubſtituted to theſe ſtamina, and this becomes a fruit of an oval form, ſlightly triangular, and of more than ſix inches in diameter. The aſſemblage of ſeveral fruits upon the ſame panicle, is called a cluſter; and the ſame tree yields ſucceſſively ſeveral cluſters in one year. BOOK I.

This fruit is covered with a bark conſiſting of filaments three fingers thick, and diſtinguiſhed by the name of kayar; of which ſome coarſe ſtuffs and ropes for ſhips are made. Underneath it is a very hard nut, of the ſize and ſhape of a ſmall melon: it has three holes at one of its extremities, and is fit for making ſmall cups, and other domeſtic utenſils. The pulp which lines the inſide of this nut, ſupplies a wholeſome kind of food, from which is expreſſed an oil very ſweet, when freſh, and much uſed in India. But it contracts a bitter taſte when it is kept long, and is then only proper for burning. The ſediment that remains in the preſs, affords nouriſhment for cattle, poultry, and even the lower kind of people in times of ſcarcity. The centre of the nut is filled with a clear, refreſhing, ſweetiſh kind of liquid, which ſerves to quench the thirſt of labouring people both at ſea and land. In the old fruits this fluid diſappears, and is ſucceeded by an almond, which ſoon fills up the cavity, and becomes fit for the propagation of the plant. In the centre of it is ſometimes found a ſtony concretion, to which the Indians aſcribe great virtues; they conſider it as a pledge of ſucceſs, and ſeldom fail to provide themſelves with one, when they are going upon any enterpriſe.

The above mentioned advantages are not, however

BOOK I. the only ones that are derived from the cocoa tree. If the buds of the flowers be cut off before they are perfectly unfolded, a white liquor runs from them, which is received into a veſſel fixed to their extremity; and is of a ſweet taſte, while it continues freſh. It afterwards turns ſour, and makes good vinegar. When diſtilled in its higheſt perfection, it produces a ſtrong brandy; and boiled with quicklime, yields a middling kind of ſugar. The buds, from which this liquor has been drawn, neceſſarily become abortive, and do not unfold themſelves any further, becauſe they have been deprived of that ſubſtance which was deſtined for the production and nouriſhment of the fruit.

Beſide the cocoa tree, the Moluccas produce a ſingular kind of palm, which is called ſago. This tree, which is common in the forests of theſe iſlands, differs from the former in having longer leaves, a leſs elevated trunk, and ſmaller fruits. The progreſs of its vegetation in the early ſtages is very ſlow. At firſt it is a mere ſhrub, thick ſet with thorns, which makes it difficult to come near it. But as ſoon as its ſtem is once formed, it riſes, in a ſhort time, to the height of thirty feet, is about ſix feet in circumference, and imperceptibly loſes its thorns. The bark is an inch thick; and all the inſide is filled with a ſap which falls into meal. The tree, which ſeems to grow merely for the uſe of man, points out the meal by a fine white powder which covers its leaves, and is a certain indication of the maturity of the ſago. It is then cut down to the root, and ſawed into ſcantlings, which are divided into four quarters, for the purpoſe of extracting the ſap or meal they contain. After this ſubſtance has been diluted in water, it is ſtrained through a kind of ſieve, which retains the groſſer particles; the reſt is thrown into earthen moulds, where it dries and hardens for ſome years. The Indians eat the ſago diluted with water, and ſometimes baked or boiled. Through a principle of humanity, they reſerve the fineſt part of this meal for the aged and infirm. A jelly is ſome-

times made of it, which is white, and of a delicious flavour.

Temperate, independent, and averſe from labour, theſe people had lived for ages upon the meal of the ſago, and the milk of the cocoa, when the Chineſe, landing by accident at the Moluccas, diſcovered the clove and the nutmeg, with which valuable ſpices the ancients were entirely unacquainted. They were ſoon admired all over India, from whence they were conveyed to Perſia and Europe. The Arabians, who at that time engroſſed almoſt all the trade of the univerſe, did not overlook ſo lucrative a part of it. They repaired in crowds to theſe celebrated iſlands, the productions of which they had already monopolized, when the Portugueſe, who purſued them every where, came and deprived them of this branch of trade. Notwithſtanding the ſchemes that were laid to ſupplant theſe conquerors, they obtained permiſſion to build a fort. From this time the court of Liſbon ranked the Moluccas among the number of their provinces, and it was not long before they really became ſo.

While Albuquerque's lieutenants were enriching their country with new productions, that general was engaged in completing the conqueſt of Malabar, which would have taken advantage of his abſence to recover its liberty. After his late ſucceſs, while he remained unmoleſted in the centre of his conqueſts, he employed himſelf in ſuppreſſing the licentiouſneſs of the Portugueſe, in eſtabliſhing order throughout the colonies, and in regulating the diſcipline of the army. The activity, ſagacity, wiſdom, juſtice, humanity, and diſintereſtedneſs, which he had diſplayed in theſe tranſactions, and the idea of his virtues, had made ſo deep an impreſſion on the minds of the Indians, that, for a long time after his death, they continued to repair to his tomb, to demand juſtice of him for the outrages committed by his ſucceſſors. He died at Goa in the year 1515, without riches, and out of favour with Emanuel, who had been prevailed upon to entertain ſuſpicions of his conduct.

BOOK I.

The cauſes of the enterpriſing ſpirit of the Portugueſe.

If our aſtoniſhment be raiſed at the number of Albuquerque's victories, and the rapidity of his conqueſts, how deſervedly do thoſe brave men claim our admiration, whom he had the honour to command in theſe expeditions! Had any nation, before that period, been ſeen to perform ſuch great actions with ſo ſmall a force? The Portugueſe, with leſs than forty thouſand troops, ſtruck terror into the empire of Morocco, the barbarous nations of Africa, the Mammelucs, the Arabians, and all the eaſtern countries, from the iſland of Ormus to China. With a force in the proportion of one to a hundred, they engaged troops, which, when attacked by an enemy of equal ſtrength, would frequently defend their lives and poſſeſſions to the laſt extremity. What kind of men, then, muſt the Portugueſe have been, and what extraordinary cauſes muſt have conſpired to produce ſuch a nation of heroes?

They had been at war with the Moors near a century, when Henry of Burgundy, with ſeveral French knights, landed in Portugal, with a deſign to ſerve in Caſtile, under the famous Cid, whoſe reputation had drawn them thither. The Portugueſe invited them to lend their aſſiſtance againſt the Infidels: the knights complied, and the greateſt part of them ſettled in Portugal. Chivalry, which has contributed as much as any other inſtitution to exalt human nature, ſubſtituting the love of glory to the love of our country; that refined ſpirit, drawn from the dregs of the barbarous ages, and calculated to repair or leſſen the errors and inconveniences of the feudal government from whence it took its riſe, was then revived on the banks of the Tagus, in all the ſplendour it had at its firſt appearance in France and England. The princes endeavoured to keep it alive, and to extend its influence, by eſtabliſhing ſeveral orders, formed upon the plan of the ancient ones, and calculated to infuſe the ſame ſpirit, which was a mixture of heroiſm, gallantry, and devotion.

The ſovereigns raiſed the ſpirit of the nation ſtill higher, by treating the nobility in ſome meaſure upon

a footing of equality, and by ſetting bounds to their own authority. They frequently called together the general aſſembly of the ſtates, without which, properly ſpeaking, there can be no nation. By theſe ſtates, Alphonſo was inveſted with the regal authority, after the taking of Liſbon: and, in conjunction with them, his ſucceſſors, for a long time, exerciſed the power of making laws. Many of theſe laws were calculated to inſpire the love of great actions. The order of nobility was conferred upon thoſe who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by ſignal ſervices; by killing or taking priſoner the enemy's general, or his ſquire; or by refuſing to purchaſe liberty, when they were priſoners among the Moors, by renouncing their religion. On the other hand, whoever inſulted a woman, gave falſe evidence, broke his promiſe, or *concealed the truth from his ſovereign*, was degraded from his rank. Has the diſcontinuance of this cuſtom been the fault of the ſubjects, in not daring to tell the truth to their ſovereigns; or the fault of the ſovereigns, in their unwillingneſs to hear it?

BOOK I.

The wars waged by the Portugueſe in defence of their rights and liberties, were, at the ſame time, religious wars. They partook of that fierce but enterpriſing ſpirit of fanaticiſm, which the popes had diffuſed at the time of the cruſades. The Portugueſe, therefore, were knights armed in defence of their properties, their wives, their children, and their kings, who were knights as well as themſelves. Beſide this, they were the heroes of the cruſade, who, while they defended Chriſtianity, were fighting for their country. To this may be added, that the nation was ſmall, and its power extremely limited; for it is chiefly in little ſtates, expoſed to frequent dangers, that we find that enthuſiaſtic fondneſs for one's country, which is utterly unknown in larger communities, enjoying greater ſecurity.

The principles of activity, vigour, and a noble elevation of mind, which united in the character of this

BOOK I. nation, were not loſt, after the expulſion of the Moors. They purſued theſe enemies of their religion and government into Africa. They were engaged in ſeveral wars with the kings of Caſtile and Leon; and during the interval that preceded their expeditions to India, the nobility lived at a diſtance from cities and the court, and preſerved in their caſtles the virtues of their anceſtors, together with their portraits.

When the plan of extending conqueſt in Africa and Aſia became the object of attention among the Portugueſe, a new paſſion co-operated with the principles juſt mentioned, to give additional energy to the Portugueſe ſpirit. This paſſion, which at firſt would neceſſarily exalt all the reſt, but which in a little time would deſtroy the generous principles from which they aroſe, was the thirſt of riches. The veſſels were crowded with adventurers, whoſe views were to enrich themſelves, to ſerve the ſtate, and to make proſelytes. They appeared, in India, to be ſomething more than men, till the death of Albuquerque; but, at that period, riches, which were the object and reward of their conqueſts, introduced univerſal corruption. The nobler paſſions gave way to the pleaſures of luxury, which never fail to enervate the body, and to deſtroy the virtues of the mind. The weak ſucceſſors of the illuſtrious Emanuel, and the men of indifferent talents, whom he himſelf ſent as viceroys to India, gradually contributed to the degeneracy of the Portugueſe.

Lopez-Soarez, however, who ſucceeded Albuquerque, purſued his deſigns. He aboliſhed a barbarous cuſtom that prevailed in the country of Travencor, in the neighbourhood of Calicut. The inhabitants of this region conſulted ſorcerers concerning the deſtiny of their children: if the magician promiſed a happy deſtiny, they were ſuffered to live; if he foretold any great calamities that were to befal them, they were put to death. Soarez interpoſed to preſerve theſe children. He was for ſome time employed in preventing the oppoſition with which the Portugueſe were

threatened in India; and as ſoon as he was relieved from this anxiety, he reſolved to attempt a paſſage to China.

BOOK I.

The great Albuquerque had formed the ſame deſign. He had met with Chineſe ſhips and merchants at Malacca, and conceived a high opinion of a nation whoſe very ſailors had more politeneſs, a better ſenſe of decorum, more good-nature and humanity, than were, at that time, to be found among the European nobility. He invited the Chineſe to continue their commerce with Malacca. From them, he procured a particular account of the ſtrength, riches, and manners of their extenſive empire, and communicated his intelligence to the court of Portugal.

Arrival of the Portugueſe at China. State of the empire.

The Chineſe nation was utterly unknown in Europe. Mark Paul, a Venetian, who had travelled to China by land, had given a deſcription of it which was looked upon as fabulous. It correſponded, however, with the particulars ſince tranſmitted by Albuquerque. Credit was given to the teſtimony of this commander, and to his account of the lucrative trade that might be carried on with this country.

In the year 1518, a ſquadron ſailed from Liſbon, to convoy an ambaſſador to China. As ſoon as it arrived at the iſlands in the neighbourhood of Canton, it was ſurrounded by Chineſe veſſels, which came to reconnoitre it. Ferdinand Andrada, who commanded it, did not put himſelf in any poſture of defence: he ſuffered the Chineſe to come on board, communicated the object of his voyage to the mandarins that preſided at Canton, and ſent his ambaſſador on ſhore, who was conducted to Pekin.

The ambaſſador was every moment preſented with ſome new wonder, that ſtruck him with amazement. If we conſider the largeneſs of the towns, the multitude of villages, the variety of canals, of which ſome are navigable acroſs the empire, and others contribute to the fertility of the ſoil; the art of cultivating their lands, and the abundance and variety of their productions; the ſagacious and mild aſpect of the inhabi-

BOOK I.

tants; the perpetual interchange of good offices, which appeared in the country, and on the public roads; and the good order preſerved among thoſe numberleſs crowds who were engaged in the hurry of buſineſs; we ſhall not wonder at the ſurpriſe of the Portugueſe ambaſſador, who had been accuſtomed to the barbarous and ridiculous manners of Europe.

State of China, according to the panegyriſts of that country.

Let us for a while fix our attention upon a people who have been judged of ſo differently by the Europeans. Let us compare the accounts given of them by their panegyriſts, with thoſe which have been tranſmitted to us by their calumniators; and we may poſſibly derive from this contraſt ſome light that may tend to conciliate theſe contradictory opinions. The hiſtory of a nation ſo well governed, ſay the partiſans of China, is the hiſtory of mankind: the reſt of the world reſembles the chaos of matter before it was wrought into form. After a long ſeries of devaſtation, ſociety has at length riſen to order and harmony. States and nations are produced from each other, like individuals, with this difference, that, in families, Nature brings about the death of ſome, and provides for the birth of others, in a conſtant and regular ſucceſſion: but, in ſtates, this rule is violated and deſtroyed, by the diſorders of ſociety; where it ſometimes happens, that ancient monarchies ſtifle riſing republics in their births; and that a rude and ſavage people, ruſhing like a torrent, ſweep away multitudes of ſtates, which are diſunited and broken in pieces.

China alone has been exempted from this fatality. This empire, bounded on the north by Ruſſian Tartary, on the ſouth by India, on the weſt by Thibet, and on the eaſt by the ocean, comprehends almoſt all the eaſtern extremity of the continent of Aſia: It is eighteen hundred leagues in circumference, and is ſaid to have laſted through a ſucceſſive ſeries of four thouſand years: nor is this antiquity in the leaſt to be wondered at. The narrow bounds of our hiſtory, and the ſmall extent of our kingdoms, which riſe and fall in a quick ſucceſſion, are the conſequence of wars, ſu-

perſtition, and the unfavourable circumſtances of our ſituation. But the Chineſe, who are encompaſſed and defended on all ſides by ſeas and deſerts, like the ancient Egyptians, may have given a laſting ſtability to their empire. As ſoon as their coaſts and the inland parts of their territories have been peopled and cultivated, this happy nation muſt of courſe have been the centre of attraction to all the ſurrounding people: and the wandering or cantoned tribes muſt neceſſarily have gradually attached themſelves to a body of men, who ſpeak leſs frequently of the conqueſts they have made, than of the attacks they have ſuffered; and are happier in the thought of having civilized their conquerors, than they could have been in that of having deſtroyed their invaders. BOOK I.

In a country where a civilized government has been ſo anciently eſtabliſhed, we may every where expect to find ſtrong veſtiges of the continued exertions of induſtry. Its roads have been levelled with the exacteſt care; and, in general, have no greater declivity than is neceſſary to facilitate the watering of the land, which the Chineſe conſider, with reaſon, as one of the greateſt helps in agriculture. There are but few, even of the moſt uſeful trees, becauſe their fruits would rob the corn of its nouriſhment. We cannot, therefore, expect to meet here with thoſe gardens full of flowers, verdant lawns, groves, and fountains, the ſight of which is calculated to exhilarate the idle ſpectator, while they ſeem concealed and removed from the public eye, as if the owners were afraid of ſhowing how much their amuſements had encroached upon the ſoil that ought to be cultivated for the ſupport of life. The land is not overcharged with thoſe parks or extenſive foreſts, which are not near ſo ſerviceable to mankind, by the wood they furniſh, as prejudicial, by preventing agriculture; and while they contribue to the pleaſure of the great, by the beaſts that range in them, prove a real misfortune to the huſbandman. In China, the beauty of a country-ſeat conſiſts in its being happily ſituated, ſurrounded with an agreeable va-

BOOK I.

riety of cultivated fields, and interſperſed with trees planted irregularly, and with ſome heaps of a porous ſtone, which, at a diſtance, have the appearance of rocks or mountains.

The hills are generally cut into terraces, ſupported by dry walls. Here there are reſervoirs, conſtructed with ingenuity, for the reception of rain and ſpring water. It is not uncommon, to ſee the bottom, ſummit, and declivity of a hill, watered by the ſame canal, by means of a number of engines, of a ſimple conſtruction, which ſave manual labour, and perform, with two men, what could not be done with a thouſand any where elſe. Theſe heights commonly yield three crops in a year. They are firſt ſown with a kind of radiſh, which produces an oil; then with cotton; and, after that, with potatoes. This is the common method of culture; but the rule is not without exception.

Upon moſt of the mountains which are incapable of being cultivated for the ſubſiſtence of man, proper trees are planted, for building houſes or ſhips. Many of theſe mountains contain iron, tin, and copper mines, ſufficient to ſupply the empire. The gold mines have been neglected, either becauſe their produce did not defray the expence of working them, or becauſe the gold duſt waſhed down by the torrents, was found ſufficient for the purpoſes of exchange.

The ſandy plains, ſaved from the ravages of the ocean (which changes its bed as rivers do their courſe, in a ſpace of time ſo exactly proportioned to the difference in the maſs of water, that a ſmall encroachment of the ſea cauſes a thouſand revolutions on the ſurface of the globe), form, at this day, the provinces of Nankin and Tchekiang, which are the fineſt in the empire. As the Egyptians checked the courſe of the Nile, the Chineſe have repulſed, reſtrained, and given laws to the ocean. They have re-united to the continent, tracts of land which had been disjoined by this element. To the action of the univerſe, the Chineſe oppoſe the labours of induſtry; and while nations, the

moſt celebrated in hiſtory, have, by the rage of conqueſt, increaſed the ravages which time is perpetually making upon this globe, they exert ſuch efforts to retard the progreſs of univerſal devaſtation, as might appear ſupernatural, if they were not continual and evident.

To the improvements of land, this nation adds, if we may be allowed the expreſſion, the improvement of the water. The rivers, which communicate with each other by canals, and run under the walls of moſt of the towns, preſent us with the proſpect of floating cities, compoſed of an infinite number of boats, filled with people, who live conſtantly upon the water, and whoſe ſole employment is fiſhing. The ſea itſelf is covered with numberleſs veſſels, whoſe maſts, at a diſtance, appear like moving foreſts. Anſon mentions it as a reproach to the fiſhermen belonging to theſe boats, that they did not give themſelves a moment's intermiſſion from their work to look at his ſhip, which was the largeſt that had ever anchored in thoſe latitudes. But this inattention to an object, which appeared to a Chineſe ſailor of no uſe, though it was in the way of his profeſſion, is, perhaps, a proof of the happineſs of a people, who prefer buſineſs to matters of mere curioſity.

The mode of cultivation is by no means uniform throughout this empire, but varies according to the nature of the ſoil and the difference of the climate. In the low countries towards the ſouth, rice is ſown, which, being always under water, grows to a great ſize, and yields two crops in a year. In the inland parts of the country, where the ſituation is lofty and dry, the ſoil produces a ſpecies of rice, which is neither ſo large, ſo well taſted, or ſo nouriſhing as the former, and makes the huſbandman but one return in the year for his labour. In the northern parts, the ſame kinds of grain are cultivated as in Europe: they grow in as great plenty, and are of as good a quality, as in any of our moſt fertile countries. From one end of China to the other, there are large quantities of ve-

BOOK I.

getables, particularly in the ſouth; where, together with fiſh, they ſupply the place of meat, which is the general food of the other provinces. But the improvement of lands is univerſally underſtood and attended to. All the different kinds of manure are carefully preſerved, and ſkilfully diſtributed to the beſt advantage; and that which ariſes from fertile lands, is applied to make them ſtill more fertile. This grand ſyſtem of nature, which is ſuſtained by deſtruction and re-production, is better underſtood and attended to in Chinà, than in any other country in the world.

The firſt cauſe of the rural economy of the Chineſe, is that character of induſtry by which theſe people are particularly diſtinguiſhed, who, in their nature, require a leſs ſhare of repoſe. Every day in the year is devoted to labour, except the firſt, which is employed in paying and receiving viſits among relations; and the laſt, which is ſacred to the memory of their anceſtors. The firſt is a ſocial duty; the latter, a part of domeſtic worſhip. In this nation of ſages, whatever unites and civilizes mankind, is religion: and religion itſelf is nothing more than the practice of the ſocial virtues. They are a ſober and rational people, who want nothing more than the controul of civil laws to make them juſt: their private worſhip conſiſts in the love of their parents, whether living or dead; and their public worſhip, in the love of labour; and that kind of labour which is holden in the moſt ſacred veneration, is agriculture.

The generoſity of two of their emperors is much revered, who, preferring the intereſts of the ſtate to thoſe of their family, kept their own children from the throne, to make room for men taken from the plough. The Chineſe alſo revere the memory of thoſe huſbandmen who ſowed the ſeeds of the happineſs and ſtability of the empire in the fertile boſom of the earth, that inexhauſtible ſource of whatever conduces to the nouriſhment, and conſequently to the increaſe of mankind.

In imitation of theſe royal huſbandmen, the empe-

rors of China become huſbandmen officially. It is one of their public functions, to break up the ground in the ſpring: and the parade and magnificence that accompanies this ceremony, draws together all the farmers in the neighbourhood of the capital. They flock in crowds, to ſee their prince perform this ſolemnity, in honour of the firſt of all the arts. It is not, as in the fables of Greece, a god who tends the flocks of a king: it is the father of his people, who, holding the plough with his own hands, ſhows his children what are the true riches of the ſtate. In a little time, he repairs again to the field he has ploughed himſelf, to ſow the ſeed that is moſt proper for the ground. The example of the prince is followed in all the provinces; and at the ſame ſeaſons, the viceroys repeat the ſame ceremonies, in the preſence of a numerous concourſe of huſbandmen. The Europeans who have been preſent at this ſolemnity at Canton, never ſpeak of it without emotion; and make us regret, that this feſtival, the political aim of which is the encouragement of labour, is not eſtabliſhed in our climate, inſtead of that number of religious feaſts, which ſeem to be invented by idleneſs, to make the country a barren waſte. BOOK I.

It is not to be imagined, however, that the court of Pekin is really engaged in the labours of a rural life. The arts of luxury are grown to ſo great a height in China, that theſe tranſactions can only paſs for mere ceremonies. But the law, which obliges the prince to ſhow this token of reſpect to the profeſſion of huſbandmen, has a tendency to promote the advantage of agriculture. The deference paid by the ſovereign to public opinions, contributes to perpetuate them; and the influence of opinion is the principal ſpring that actuates the political machine.

This influence is preſerved in China, by conferring honours on all huſbandmen who excel in the cultivation of the ground. When any uſeful diſcovery is made, the author of it is called to court, to communicate it to the prince; and is ſent by the government

BOOK I.

into the provinces, to inſtruct them in this method. In a word, in this country, where nobility is not hereditary, but a mere perſonal reward, indiſcriminately beſtowed upon merit, ſeveral of the magiſtrates, and perſons raiſed to the higheſt employments in the empire, are choſen out of families which are ſolely employed in the cultivation of land.

Theſe encouragements, which belong to the manners of the people, are further ſeconded by the beſt political inſtitutions. Whatever is in its nature incapable of being divided, as the ſea, rivers, canals, &c., is enjoyed in common, and is the property of no individual. Every one has the liberty of going upon the water, of fiſhing, and hunting; and a ſubject who is in poſſeſſion of an eſtate, whether acquired by himſelf, or left by his relations, is in no danger of having his right called in queſtion by the tyrannical authority of the feudal laws.

The ſmallneſs of the taxes is ſtill a further encouragement to agriculture. Except the cuſtoms eſtabliſhed in the ſea-ports, there are but two kinds of tribute known in the empire. The firſt, which is perſonal, is paid by every citizen from twenty to ſixty years of age, in proportion to his income. The ſecond, which is levied on the produce of the land, amounts to a tenth, a twentieth, or a thirtieth part, according to the quality of the ſoil. There certainly have been ſome of their emperors, or miniſters, who have attempted to extend and multiply the taxes; but as ſuch an undertaking would require much time, and that no man could flatter himſelf that he ſhould live to ſee the ſucceſs of it; the attempt has been given up. Men of bad principles aim at immediate enjoyment; while the virtuous miniſter, extending his benevolent views beyond the preſent generation, contents himſelf with forming deſigns, and propagating uſeful truths, for the advantage of poſterity, without expecting to ſee the effect of them himſelf.

The manner of levying the contributions in China, is as mild as the contributions themſelves. The only

penalty inflicted on perſons liable to be taxed, and who are too ſlow in the payment of the tribute demanded by the public, is to quarter old, infirm, and poor people upon them, to be maintained at their expence, till they have diſcharged the debt due to government. This manner of proceeding has a tendency to awaken pity and humanity in the breaſt of a citizen, when he ſees miſerable objects, and hears the cries of hunger; inſtead of giving him diſguſt, and exciting his reſentment, by the odious perquiſitions and reſearches of the finance, as practiſed in Europe, by forcible ſeizures, and the menaces of an inſolent ſoldiery, who come to live at diſcretion in a houſe expoſed to the numberleſs extortions of the treaſury. BOOK L

The mandarins levy the tenth part of the produce of the earth in kind, and collect the poll-tax in money. The officers in the municipal towns pay the whole of the produce into the public treaſury, through the hands of the receiver-general of the province. The uſe that is made of this revenue, prevents all frauds in collecting it; as it is well known, that a part of theſe duties is allotted for the maintenance of the magiſtrates and ſoldiers. The money ariſing from the ſale of this proportion of the product of the lands which has been expoſed to ſale, is never iſſued from the treaſury, but in public exigencies. It is laid up in the magazines againſt times of ſcarcity, when the people receive what they had only lent, as it were, in times of plenty.

It may naturally be expected that a nation, enjoying ſo many advantages, would be extremely populous; eſpecially in a climate where, whatever reaſon may be aſſigned for it, the women are remarkably prolific; where debauchery is very uncommon; where the extent of paternal rights neceſſarily excites the deſire of having a numerous progeny; where an equality of fortunes prevails, which the difference of conditions renders impoſſible in other places; where the mode of living is generally ſimple, little expenſive, and tending always to the moſt rigid economy; where wars are

BOOK I.

neither frequent nor deſtructive; where celibacy is proſcribed by the manners of the country; and where the healthineſs of the climate prevents epidemic diſeaſes. Accordingly, there is no country in the univerſe ſo populous as this. The population is indeed carried to too great a height, ſince it appears, from the records of the empire, that a bad harveſt ſeldom fails to produce an inſurrection.

It is unneceſſary to ſearch beyond this circumſtance for the reaſons which prevent deſpotiſm from making any advances in China. It is evident from theſe frequent revolutions, that the people are fully ſenſible that a regard to the rights of property, and ſubmiſſion to the laws, are duties of a ſecondary claſs, ſubordinate to the original rights of nature, whoſe only view in the formation of communities, has been the common benefit of thoſe who enter into them. Accordingly, when the more immediate neceſſaries of life fail, the Chineſe ceaſe to acknowledge an authority which does not provide for their ſubſiſtence. The right of kings is founded on the regard they pay to the preſervation of the people. Neither religion nor morality teach any other doctrine in China.

The emperor is well aware, that he preſides over a people who ſubmit to the laws no longer than while they promote their happineſs. He is ſenſible, that if the ſpirit of tyranny, which is ſo common and epidemical in other countries, ſhould ſeize him but for a moment, ſuch a violent oppoſition would be raiſed, that he would be expelled from the throne. Accordingly, finding himſelf inveſted with the ſupreme command by a people who obſerve and criticiſe his conduct, he is far from attempting to erect himſelf into an object of religious ſuperſtition, which ſets no bounds to its authority. He does not violate the ſacred contract, by virtue of which he holds the ſceptre. He is convinced that the people are ſo well acquainted with their rights, and know ſo well how to defend them, that whenever a province complains of the mandarin who governs it, he recals him without examination, and delivers him up to a

tribunal, which proceeds againſt him if he be in fault; but ſhould he even prove innocent, he is not reinſtated in his employment; for even the circumſtance of its having been poſſible for him to excite the reſentment of the people, is imputed to him as a crime. He is conſidered as an ignorant tutor, who attempts to deprive a father of the love his children bear him. This compliance, which, in other countries, would nouriſh perpetual diſcontent, and occaſion an infinite number of intrigues, is not attended with any inconvenience in China, where the inhabitants are naturally diſpoſed to be mild and juſt, and the conſtitution of the ſtate is ſo ordered, that its delegates have ſeldom any rigorous commands to execute.

This obligation the prince is under of being juſt, tends to make him more wiſe and intelligent. He is in China what we wiſh to make princes in all countries believe they are, the idol of his people. It ſhould ſeem that the manners and laws of this country have mutually conſpired to eſtabliſh this fundamental principle, that China is a family of which the emperor is the patriarch. It is not as a conqueror, or a legiſlator, that he holds his authority; but as a father: it is by this tie that he governs, rewards, and puniſhes. This pleaſing ſentiment gives him a greater ſhare of power, than the tyrants of other nations can poſſibly derive from the number of their troops, or the artifices of their miniſters. It is not to be imagined what eſteem and affection the Chineſe have for their emperor; or, as they expreſs it, for their common, their univerſal father.

This public veneration is founded upon that which is eſtabliſhed by private education. In China, the father and mother claim an abſolute right over their children at every period of life, even when raiſed to the higheſt dignity. Paternal authority and filial affection are the ſprings of this empire: they regulate the manners, and are the tie that unites the prince to his ſubjects, the ſubjects to their prince, and the citizens to one another. The Chineſe government, by

BOOK I. the gradual perfection it has acquired, has been brought back to that point from which all other governments ſeem to have finally and irrevocably degenerated; to the patriarchal government, which is that of nature itſelf.

This ſublime ſyſtem of morals, which for ſo many ages has contributed to the proſperity of the Chineſe empire, would, however, probably have experienced an inſenſible change, if the chimerical diſtinctions allowed to birth had deſtroyed that original equality eſtabliſhed by nature among mankind, and which ought only to give way to ſuperior abilities and ſuperior merit. In all the ſtates of Europe, there are a ſet of men who aſſume, from their infancy, a pre-eminence independent of their moral character. The attention paid them from the moment of their birth, gives them the idea that they are formed for command; they learn to conſider themſelves as a diſtinct ſpecies, and being ſecure of a certain rank and ſtation, take no pains to make themſelves worthy of it.

This inſtitution, to which we owe ſo many indifferent miniſters, ignorant magiſtrates, and bad generals, is not eſtabliſhed in China, where nobility does not deſcend by hereditary right. The fame any citizen acquires, begins and ends with himſelf. The ſon of the prime miniſter of the empire has no advantages at the moment of his birth, but thoſe he may have derived from nature. The rank of nobility is ſometimes conferred upon the anceſtors of a man who has done ſignal ſervices to his country: but this mark of diſtinction, which is merely perſonal, dies with its poſſeſſor, and his children derive no other advantage from it than the memory and example of his virtues.

In conſequence of this perfect equality, the Chineſe are enabled to eſtabliſh an uniform ſyſtem of education, and to inculcate correſpondent principles. It is no difficult taſk to perſuade men who are upon an equal footing by birth, that they are all brethren. This opinion gives them every advantage which a contrary idea would make them loſe. A Chineſe, who

ſhould abſtract himſelf from this common fraternity, would become a ſolitary and miſerable being, and wander as a ſtranger in the heart of his country.

Inſtead of thoſe frivolous diſtinctions which are allotted to birth in almoſt every other country, the Chineſe ſubſtitute real ones, founded entirely on perſonal merit. A ſet of wiſe and intelligent men, who are honoured with the title of the learned mandarins, devote themſelves to the ſtudy of all ſciences neceſſary to qualify them for the adminiſtration of public affairs. None can be admitted into this reſpectable ſociety, who are not recommended by their talents and knowledge; for riches give no claim to this privilege. The mandarins themſelves fix upon proper perſons to aſſociate with them; and their choice is always the reſult of a ſtrict examination. There are different claſſes of mandarins, the ſucceſſion to which is regulated by merit, and not by ſeniority.

From this body of mandarins, the emperor, according to a cuſtom as ancient as the empire, elects miniſters, magiſtrates, governors of provinces, and officers of every denomination who are called to any employment in the ſtate. As his choice can only fall upon men of tried abilities, the welfare of the people is always lodged in the hands of thoſe who are worthy of ſuch a truſt.

In conſequence of this inſtitution, no dignity is hereditary except that of the crown; and even that does not always devolve on the eldeſt ſon; but on him whom the emperor and the council of mandarins judge moſt worthy. By this method, a ſpirit of virtuous emulation prevails even in the imperial family. The throne is given to merit alone, and it is aſſigned to the heir only in conſideration of his abilities. The emperors rather chooſe to look for a ſucceſſor in a different family, than to intruſt the reins of government to unſkilful hands.

The viceroys and magiſtrates enjoy the affection of the people, at the ſame time that they partake of the authority of the ſovereign; and any miſtakes in their

BOOK I.

adminiſtration meet with the ſame indulgence that is ſhown to thoſe of the ſupreme legiſlator. They have not that tendency to ſedition which prevails in this part of the world. In China there is no ſet of men to form or manage a faction: as the mandarins have no rich and powerful family connections, they can derive no ſupport but from the crown, and their own wiſdom. They are trained up in a way of thinking that inſpires humanity, the love of order, beneficence, and reſpect for the laws. They take pains to inculcate theſe ſentiments into the people, and ſecure their attachment to every law, by pointing out to them its uſeful tendency. The ſovereign paſſes no edict that does not convey ſome moral or political inſtruction. The people neceſſarily become acquainted with their intereſts, and the meaſures taken by government to promote them; and the better informed they are, the more likely they will be to remain quiet.

Superſtition, which excites diſturbances in all other countries, and either eſtabliſhes tyranny, or overthrows government, has no influence in China. It is tolerated, injudiciouſly perhaps by the laws: but, at leaſt, it never makes laws itſelf. No perſon can have any ſhare in the government, who does not belong to the claſs of literati, who admit of no ſuperſtition. The bonzes are not allowed to ground the duties of morality upon the doctrines of their ſects, nor conſequently to diſpenſe with them. If they impoſe upon ſome part of the nation, their artifices do not affect thoſe whoſe example and authority are of the greateſt importance to mankind.

Confucius, in whoſe actions and diſcourſes precept was joined to example, whoſe memory is equally revered, and whoſe doctrine is equally embraced by all claſſes and ſects whatſoever, was the founder of the national religion of China. His code contains a ſyſtem of natural law, which ought to be the ground-work of all religions, the rule of ſociety, and ſtandard of all governments. He taught, that reaſon was an emanation of the Deity; and that the ſupreme law conſiſted

in the harmony between nature and reaſon. The religion that runs in oppoſition to theſe two guides of human life, does not come from heaven.

As the Chineſe have no term for God, they ſay that heaven is God. *But*, ſays the emperor Changchi, in an edict publiſhed in 1710, *it is not to the viſible and material heaven that we offer our ſacrifices, but to the Lord of heaven.* Thus atheiſm, though not uncommon in China, is not publicly profeſſed. It is neither the characteriſtic of a ſect, nor an object of perſecution; but is tolerated as well as ſuperſtition.

The emperor, who is ſole pontiff, is likewiſe the judge in matters of religion; but as the national worſhip was made for the government, not the government for it; and as both were deſigned to be ſubſervient to the ends of ſociety; it is neither the intereſt nor inclination of the ſovereign to employ the combination of authority lodged in his hands, for the purpoſes of oppreſſion. If on the one hand the doctrines and ceremonies of the hierarchy do not prevent the prince from making an ill uſe of abſolute authority; he is more powerfully reſtrained on the other, by the general influence of the national manners.

Any attempt to change theſe manners would be attended with the greateſt difficulty, becauſe they are inculcated by a mode of education which is, perhaps, the beſt we are acquainted with. The Chineſe do not make a point of inſtructing their children till they are five years old. They are then taught to write words or hieroglyphics, which repreſent ſenſible objects, of which at the ſame time they endeavour to give them clear ideas. Afterwards, their memory is ſtored with ſententious verſes, containing precepts of morality, which they are taught to reduce to practice. As they advance in years, they are inſtructed in the philoſophy of Confucius. This is the manner of education among the ordinary ranks. The children who may aſpire to poſts of honour, begin in the ſame manner; but intermix other ſtudies relative to human conduct in the different ſtations of life.

BOOK I. In China, the manners take their complexion from the laws, and are preſerved by common uſage, which is likewiſe preſcribed by the laws. The Chineſe have a greater number of precepts, relating to the moſt common actions, than any other people in the world. Their code of politeneſs is very voluminous; the loweſt citizen is inſtructed in it, and obſerves it with the ſame exactneſs as the mandarins and the court.

The laws in this code, like all the reſt, are formed with a view of keeping up the opinion that China is but one great family, and of promoting that regard and mutual affection in the citizens, which is due to each other as brethren. Theſe rights and cuſtoms tend to preſerve the manners. Sometimes, indeed, ceremonies are ſubſtituted for ſentiment; but how often are they the means of reviving it! They compoſe a kind of conſtant homage that is paid to virtue; and is calculated to engage the attention of youth. This homage preſerves the reſpect due to virtue herſelf; and if it ſometimes leads to hypocriſy, it encourages at leaſt a laudable zeal. Tribunals are erected to take cognizance of tranſgreſſions againſt cuſtom, as well as to puniſh crimes, and reward merit. Mild and moderate puniſhments are inflicted upon crimes, and virtue is diſtinguiſhed by marks of honour. Honour is, therefore, one of the principles that actuate the Chineſe government: and though it be the leading one, it operates more ſtrongly than fear, and more feebly than affection.

Under the influence of ſuch inſtitutions, China muſt be the country in the whole world where men are moſt humane. Accordingly, the humanity of the Chineſe is conſpicuous on thoſe occaſions, where it ſhould ſeem that virtue could have no other object but juſtice; and that juſtice could not be executed without ſeverity. Their priſoners are confined in neat and commodious apartments, where they are well taken care of, even to the moment when they ſuffer. It frequently happens, that the only puniſhment inflicted on a rich man amounts to no more than obliging him, for a certain

time, to maintain or clothe ſome old men and orphans at his own expence. Our moral and political romances form the real hiſtory of the Chineſe, who have regulated all the actions of men with ſuch an exact nicety, that they have ſcarcely any need of ſentiment. Yet they do not fail to cultivate the latter, in order to give a proper eſtimation to the former. BOOK I.

The ſpirit of patriotiſm, that ſpirit, without which ſtates are mere colonies, and not nations, is ſtronger, perhaps, and more active among the Chineſe, than it is found in any republic. It is common to ſee them voluntarily contributing their labour to repair the public roads: the rich build places of ſhelter upon them for the uſe of travellers; and others plant trees there. Such actions, which are proofs of a beneficent humanity rather than an oſtentation of generoſity, are far from being uncommon in China.

There have been times, when they have been frequent, and others, when they have been leſs ſo; but the corruption which was the cauſe of the latter, brought on a revolution, and the manners of the people were reformed. They ſuffered by the late invaſion of the Tartars: they are now recovering, in proportion as the princes of that victorious nation lay aſide the ſuperſtitions of their own country, to adopt the principles of the nation they have conquered; and in proportion as they improve in the knowledge of thoſe books which the Chineſe call canonical.

It cannot be long before we ſee the amiable character of this nation entirely revived; that fraternal and kindred principle; thoſe enchanting and ſocial ties, which ſoften the manners of the people, and attach them inviolably to the laws. Political errors and vices cannot take deep root in a country where no perſons are ever promoted to public employments, but ſuch as are of the ſect of the learned, whoſe ſole occupation is to inſtruct themſelves in the principles of morality and government. As long as real knowledge ſhall be holden in eſtimation, as long as it ſhall continue to lead to public honours, there will exiſt among the people of

BOOK I. China a fund of reaſon and virtue, which will not be found among other nations.

It muſt, however, be acknowledged, that the greateſt part of thoſe improvements, which depend upon theories that are in the leaſt complicated, are not ſo far advanced there, as might naturally be expected from that ancient, active, and diligent people, who have ſo long had a clue to them. But this circumſtance is not inexplicable. The Chineſe language requires a long and laborious ſtudy, ſcarcely to be comprehended within the term of a man's life. The rites and ceremonies, which they obſerve upon every occaſion, afford more exerciſe for their memory than their ſenſibility. Their manners are calculated to check the impulſes of the ſoul, and weaken its operations. Too aſſiduous in the purſuit of what is uſeful, they have no opportunity of launching out into the extenſive regions of imagination. An exceſſive veneration for antiquity, makes them the ſlaves of whatever is eſtabliſhed. All theſe cauſes united, muſt neceſſarily have ſtifled, among the Chineſe, the ſpirit of invention. It requires ages with them to bring any thing to perfection; and whoever reflects on the ſtate in which arts and ſciences were found among them three hundred years ago, muſt be convinced of the extraordinary antiquity of their empire.

The low ſtate of learning and of the fine arts in China, may perhaps be further owing to the very perfection of its government, and ſyſtem of policy. This paradox has its foundation in reaſon. Where the ſtudy of the laws holds the firſt rank in a nation, and is rewarded with an appointment in the adminiſtration inſtead of a poſt in an academy; where learning is applied to the regulation of manners, or the maintenance of the public weal; where the ſame nation is exceedingly populous, and requires a conſtant attention in its learned members to make ſubſiſtence keep an equal pace with population; where every individual, beſide the duties he owes to the public, which take a conſiderable time to be well underſtood, has particular du-

ties arising from the claims of his family or profeſſion: in ſuch a nation, the ſpeculative and ornamental parts of ſcience cannot be expected to arrive at that height of ſplendour they have attained in Europe. But the Chineſe, who are only our ſcholars in the arts of luxury and vanity, are our maſters in the ſcience of good government. They can teach us the art of increaſing population, not that of deſtroying it.

BOOK I.

One of the arts in which the Chineſe have made the leaſt progreſs, is that of war. It is natural to imagine, that a nation, whoſe whole conduct, like that of infants, is influenced by ceremonies, precepts, and cuſtoms either of private or public inſtitution, muſt conſequently be pliant, moderate, and inclined to tranquillity both at home and abroad. Reaſon and reflection, while they cheriſh ſentiments like theſe, leave no room for that enthuſiaſm which conſtitutes the hero and the warrior. The ſpirit of humanity, which they imbibe in their tender years, makes them look with abhorrence on thoſe ſanguinary ſcenes of rapine and maſſacre, that are ſo familiar to nations of a warlike turn. With ſuch diſpoſitions, can we wonder that the Chineſe are not warriors? They have ſoldiers without number, but totally undiſciplined, except in the ſingle article of obedience, and which are ſtill more deficient in military manœuvres than in courage. In their wars with the Tartars, the Chineſe knew not how to fight, and only ſtood to be killed. Their attachment to their government, their country, and their laws, may ſupply the want of a warlike ſpirit, but will never ſupply the want of good arms and military ſkill. When a nation has found the art of ſubduing its conquerors by its manners, it has no occaſion to overcome its enemies by force of arms.

Is there a man who can look with ſo much indifference upon the happineſs of a conſiderable portion of the human race, as not to wiſh that the ſtate of China were really ſuch as we have been repreſenting it? Let us, however, attend to what thoſe perſons have to ſay

BOOK I.

upon the ſubject, who think themſelves warranted in entertaining a contrary opinion.

State of China according to the accounts of the calumniators of that empire.

In order to judge, ſay theſe people, of a nation, equally cloſed on all ſides, ſince foreigners are not permitted to enter into it, and the natives are prohibited from going out of it, it is neceſſary to ſet out from ſome principles, which, however uncertain they may be, are ſtill received as ſound principles. Theſe ſhall be the very facts that are alleged by the panegyriſts of China. We ſhall take them for granted, without entering into a diſcuſſion of them; and we ſhall only draw the concluſions that are neceſſarily derived from them.

1. China enjoyed, or was under the calamity of an immenſe population, when it was conquered by the Tartars; and it is concluded, from the circumſtance of the laws having been adopted by the conqueror, that they muſt have been wiſe laws.

This ſubmiſſion of the Tartars to the Chineſe government, does not appear to us to be a proof of its excellence. It is in the nature of things that great bodies ſhould give the law to little ones; and this rule is obſerved in morality as well as in philoſophy. If we, therefore, compare the number of the conquerors with that of the vanquiſhed people, we ſhall find, that to one Tartar there were fifty thouſand Chineſe. Is it poſſible that one individual ſhould alter the cuſtoms, manners, and legiſlation of fifty thouſand men? Beſides, how could it happen otherwiſe than that theſe Tartars ſhould have adopted the Chineſe laws, when they had none of their own to ſubſtitute to them? The circumſtances which this extraordinary revolution moſt conſpicuouſly diſplays, are the cowardice of the nation, and its indifference for its maſters, which is one of the moſt ſtriking characteriſtics of the ſlave. Let us proceed to conſider the population of China.

2. From time immemorial agriculture has been honoured in China: this is a fact upon which all are agreed. Every country addicted to huſbandry, and

which enjoys a long continuance of peace; which does not experience any bloody revolutions; which is neither oppreſſed by tyranny, nor expoſed to devaſtation by the diſeaſes of the climate; and where we ſee the laborious citizen collecting in the plain a baſket full of earth, carrying it up to the tops of the mountains, covering the naked point of a rock with it, and keeping it in its ſituation by little paliſades; ſuch a country muſt infallibly abound with inhabitants. Would theſe inhabitants, indeed, employ themſelves in extravagant labours, if the plain from which they have gathered this ſmall parcel of land, were uncultivated, deſerted, and abandoned to the firſt man who might be deſirous of poſſeſſing it? If the people were at liberty to extend themſelves into the country, would they remain cluſtered together in the neighbourhood of the cities? The empire of China is, therefore, very well peopled in all its parts.

The country is interſected by a great number of canals, which would be uſeleſs, if they did not eſtabliſh a frequent and neceſſary communication between one place and another. What can theſe things imply, unleſs it be a great deal of internal motion, and conſequently a very conſiderable degree of population?

Every country ſubſiſting by huſbandry, where dearths are frequent, and where thoſe dearths occaſion the inſurrection of thouſands of men; where, in the courſe of theſe inſurrections, more crimes and murders are committed; and there are more conflagrations and more pillaging, than would take place on the irruption of a band of ſavages; and where, as ſoon as the ſeaſon of the famine and the revolt is over, the adminiſtration abſtains from purſuing the criminal: ſuch a country certainly contains a greater number of inhabitants than it can ſubſiſt. Would not the Chineſe be the moſt abſurd of all people, if the accidental want of the neceſſaries of life proceeded from their neglect, either in cultivating their land, or in providing for their ſubſiſtence? But China, an immenſe and fertile coun-

BOOK I. try, ſo well cultivated, and ſo admirably governed, is not the leſs expoſed to this ſort of calamity. It muſt, therefore, contain ten times, twenty times as many inhabitants, as it does acres of land.

Every country, in which the attachment of parents to their offspring, a ſentiment ſo natural, that it is common to man and brutes, is totally diſregarded, and in which the children are murdered, ſtifled, or expoſed; without incurring the reſentment of the public, has either too many inhabitants, or is occupied by a race of men different from any other on the ſurface of the globe. This, however, is what is practiſed in China; and to deny or to invalidate this fact, would be to throw the veil of uncertainty upon all the reſt.

But there is ſtill another phenomenon which more particularly confirms the opinion of the exceſſive population of China, and this is, the little progreſs the arts and ſciences have made there, in proportion to the extreme length of time they have been cultivated. The ſpirit of inquiry has ſtopped juſt at that point, where, ceaſing to be uſeful, its reſearches begin to be mere objects of curioſity. There is more advantage to be derived from the invention of the moſt trifling practical art, than from the moſt ſublime diſcovery which ſhould be only the work of genius. The man who knows how to cut up a piece of gauze to the beſt advantage, would be in higher eſtimation than he who ſhould reſolve the moſt difficult problem in philoſophy. In this country that queſtion is more particularly repeated, which we hear too frequently among ourſelves, *What is the uſe of all this?* I aſk whether this ſpirit of tranquillity, ſo contrary to the natural diſpoſition of man, who is always inclined to go beyond what he already knows, can be otherwiſe explained, than by a degree of population which prohibits idleneſs and the ſpirit of contemplation, and which keeps the nation in a continual ſtate of anxiety and attention to its wants. China is, therefore, the moſt populous region on the face of the globe.

This being granted, doth it not follow that it is alſo

the moſt corrupt? Do we not learn from general experience, that the vices of ſociety are in proportion to the number of individuals which compoſe it? What anſwer could be made, if it were to be affirmed, that the morals of the Chineſe, throughout the whole extent of their empire, muſt neceſſarily be ſtill more depraved than in our largeſt cities, where a ſenſe of honour, at leaſt, to which the Chineſe is a ſtranger, adds a luſtre to virtue, and conceals the deformity of vice? BOOK I.

May it not be aſked, what is, and what muſt be the character of a people, among whom we ſee, not unfrequently, one province ruſhing upon another, and putting all the inhabitants to death, without mercy and with impunity? Can the manners of ſuch a people be mild? Is that nation to be eſteemed civilized or barbarous, in which the laws neither reſtrain nor puniſh the expoſition or the murder of new-born infants? Can theſe people be ſaid to cheriſh, in an eminent degree, the ſentiments of humanity, benevolence, and commiſeration? Or, can we entertain a high opinion of their wiſdom, when, being incited by a concurrence of extraordinary circumſtances to found colonies, they have either not conceived, or have diſdained to put in practice an expedient ſo ſimple, and ſo effectual againſt the dreadful calamities to which they are repeatedly and continually expoſed?

So far, we cannot form any high opinion of the wiſdom of the Chineſe. Let us ſee whether the examination of the conſtitution of the empire, of the conduct of the ſovereign and his miniſters, of the knowledge of the learned, and of the manners of the people, will contribute to inſpire us with a more ſublime idea of it.

3. A ſerious writer, who is not among the crowd that admires the wiſdom of the Chineſe, ſays expreſsly, that *the cudgel is the ſovereign of China.* According to this ludicrous, and at the ſame time ſagacious idea, I imagine there would be ſome difficulty in perſuading us that a nation, in which man is treated as beaſts, are in other places, can have the leaſt tincture of thoſe delicate and ſuſceptible manners that prevail in Europe,

BOOK I. where an injurious word is expiated with blood, and where even a threatening geſture is revenged by death. The Chineſe muſt be of a very pacific and forbearing diſpoſition. So much the better, ſay our antagoniſts.

The *ſovereign of China is, however, conſidered, obeyed, and reſpected as the father of his ſubjects.* In our turn we ſhall ſay, ſo much the worſe. This is, indeed, a certain proof of the humble ſubmiſſion of the children, but not of the goodneſs of the father. The beſt expedient to precipitate a nation into the moſt abject ſtate of ſlavery, from which it never can recover, is to conſecrate the title of deſpot, by adding that of father to it. Such monſters are rarely to be met with any where, as children who dare lift up their hands againſt their parents; but, in defiance of the authority of the laws, which has ſet limits to paternal authority, we find, unfortunately, that parents who treat their children ill, are a ſpecies of monſters too commonly met with every where. The child never calls his father to account for his conduct; and the liberty of the ſubject, which is ever in danger, if the ſovereign be ſcreened from every kind of inquiry, by his infinitely reſpectable title of father, will become annihilated under a deſpot, who ſhall not allow the leaſt inveſtigation of the principles of his adminiſtration.

We may perhaps miſtake, but the Chineſe appear to us to be bent under the yoke of a double tyranny; of paternal tyranny in a family, and of civil tyranny in the empire. From whence we might venture to conclude, that they are the moſt mild, the moſt inſinuating, the moſt reſpectful, the moſt timid, the moſt abject, and leaſt dangerous of all ſlaves; unleſs we ſuppoſe an exception to have been made in their favour, to the experience of all nations, and of all ages. What is the effect of paternal deſpotiſm amongſt us? The marks of outward reſpect, joined to a ſecret and ineffectual hatred againſt our fathers. What has been, and what is ſtill the effect of civil deſpotiſm in all nations? Meanneſs, and the total extinction of every virtue. If things have taken another turn in China,

let us be informed in what manner this miracle has been accompliſhed.

It is alleged, *the emperor is well aware that he preſides over a people who ſubmit to the laws no longer than while they promote their happineſs.* Is there any difference between the Chineſe and the European upon this point? *He is ſenſible, that if the ſpirit of tyranny ſhould ſeize him but for a moment, he would be in danger of being expelled from the throne.*—Do not ancient and modern hiſtories preſent us with inſtances of this juſt and terrible puniſhment? And what effect have they produced? Will it be ſaid, that a Chineſe is more impatient of oppreſſion than an Engliſhman or a Frenchman? or, that China has never been, is not at preſent, and never will be hereafter governed by any but the moſt accompliſhed monarchs? What abſurdities are we not made to adopt by our blind veneration for antiquity and for diſtant regions? Mercy, firmneſs, application, knowledge, the love of the people and juſtice, are qualities which nature only beſtows, even ſeparately, upon a few diſtinguiſhed mortals; and there is not any one in whom they are not unfortunately more or leſs weakened by the dangerous poſſeſſion of the ſupreme power. It has, therefore, been reſerved to China alone to eſcape this curſe which has begun with all ſocieties, and will laſt as long as they do.

Certainly. *For there is a tribunal conſtantly ſubſiſting by the ſide of the throne, which keeps an exact and ſevere account of the emperor's actions.*—Does not the ſame kind of tribunal exiſt in all countries? Are monarchs unacquainted with it? or, do they fear or reſpect it? The difference between our tribunal and that of China, is, that ours, being compoſed of the whole body of the nation, cannot be corrupted; while that of the Chineſe conſiſts only of a ſmall number of learned men. Moſt ſingularly fortunate country, where the hiſtorian is neither puſillanimous, nor ſervile, nor open to ſeduction; and where the prince, who has the power to order the hand or head of his hiſtorian to be cut off, turns pale with fear, as ſoon as the writer takes up

BOOK I. his pen! There have never been any, except good kings, who have ſtood in awe of the judgment of their cotemporaries, and of the cenſure of poſterity.

Accordingly, *the ſovereigns of China are virtuous, juſt, reſolute, and enlightened.*—What! all of them without exception? We may, however, reaſonably preſume, that the imperial palace of China does not differ from the palace of the ſovereign in all other countries. It is one ſingle dwelling in the midſt of the numberleſs habitations of the ſubjects: that is to ſay, that when genius or virtue happen to fall once from heaven directly upon the houſe of the ruler, they muſt neceſſarily fall one hundred thouſand times upon the ſide of it. But perhaps this law of nature does not hold in China as it does in Europe, where we ſhould eſteem ourſelves too fortunate, if, after a good king ſhall have ten bad ſucceſſors, there ſhould ariſe one to reſemble him.

But *the ſovereign authority in China is limited.*—Where is it not? Or, in what manner, and by whom is it limited in China? If the barrier that protects the people be not thick ſet with lances, ſwords, and bayonets, turned againſt the breaſt, or againſt the ſacred head of the paternal and deſpotic emperor, we ſhould be apprehenſive, though perhaps without reaſon, that this barrier in China would be nothing more than a large cobweb, upon which the image of Juſtice and Liberty may have been painted, while, through its tranſparency, the quick-ſighted man may readily diſcern the hideous form of the deſpot. Have there been a great number of tyrants depoſed, impriſoned, ſentenced, and put to death there? Does the public ſcaffold continually ſtream with the blood of the ſovereigns? Why have not theſe events taken place?

Why? *Becauſe the Chineſe government, by a ſeries of revolutions, has been brought back to that ſtate from which all other nations have receded, the patriarchal government.*—Let us obſerve, under favour of our antagoniſts, that the patriarchal government of an immenſe region, of a family conſiſting of two hundred

millions of individuals, appears to be an idea almoſt as viſionary, as that of a republic extending over one half of the known world. The republican form of government implies a country, the limits of which are ſufficiently confined, to admit of a ſpeedy and eaſy communication of the wiſhes of the people; as the patriarchal form of government ſuppoſes a ſmall wandering nation living under tents. The notion of a patriarchal government exiſting in China, is a kind of ſpeculative illuſion, that would raiſe a ſmile in the emperor and his mandarins.

4. As *the mandarins are not attached to any rich or powerful families, the empire is free from commotions.*—Singular aſſertions; that the tranquillity of the empire is ſecured by the very circumſtance which ſeems moſt likely to diſturb it! Unleſs we ſuppoſe that Richelieu had miſtaken, in his ſyſtem of politics, when he made it a rule, that great places were not to be given to men of low extraction or fortune, who are actuated by no other motive than their duty.

It *is a fact, that theſe ſtateſmen never excite any commotions.*—Perhaps it may be equally a fact, that they have no poor relations to take care of, no flatterers to load with favours, no favourites or miſtreſſes to enrich; and that they are equally ſuperior to ſeduction, as to error. But a circumſtance which is inconteſtible, is, that theſe magiſtrates, or chiefs of the law, carry about with them, without a ſenſe of ſhame, the marks of their degradation and ignominy. What an opinion can we have of a magiſtrate who bears the banner or enſign of his own diſgrace, without being humbled by it? What can we think of a people, whoſe reverence for ſuch a magiſtrate is not diminiſhed?

5. After the ſovereign and the mandarin, the learned man preſents himſelf to our examination. This learned man is a perſon educated in a doctrine which inſpires humanity; and who teaches it to others. A man who preaches the love of order, benevolence, and reſpect for the laws; and who diffuſes theſe ſentiments among the people, and points out their utility to them.

BOOK I. —And have we not in our ſchools and our pulpits, amongſt our clergy, our magiſtrates, and philoſophers, men who may be reckoned not inferior to theſe literati, either in knowledge or in ſound morals; who exerciſe the ſame functions, both in their diſcourſes and in their writings, in the capital, in the great cities, in the ſmaller towns, in the villages, and in the hamlets? If the wiſdom of a nation were to be computed by the number of its teachers, no people would be ſuperior to us in that quality.

We have thus gone through the higher ranks of the empire; let us now deſcend to perſons of inferior ſtations, and take a curſory view of the popular manners.

6. What do we find in ſome works of morality, tranſlated from the Chineſe? We find a ſet of infamous perſons exerciſing the functions of the police; the innocent man condemned, beaten, whipped, and thrown into priſon; the guilty pardoned, upon payment of a pecuniary fine, or puniſhed, if the offended perſon happens to be the moſt powerful: in a word, all our public and domeſtic vices in a more hideous and diſguſting point of view.

7. But we cannot acquire more juſt ideas of the popular manners, than from the ſyſtem of education. In what mode is the ſtate of infancy managed in China? A child is obliged to remain ſitting for hours together, without the leaſt motion, in perfect ſilence, its arms folded over its breaſt, and in the attitude of the moſt profound thought and meditation. What effect can be expected from an habitual practice, ſo contrary to nature? A man of common ſenſe would anſwer; Taciturnity, cunning, falſehood, hypocriſy, and all the train of vices that are peculiar to the cool, deliberate villain. He would think, that, in China, that amiable frankneſs which delights us ſo much in children; that artleſs ingenuouſneſs which diſappears as they advance in age, and which engages univerſal confidence in thoſe few perſons who are ſo fortunate as to preſerve it; that all theſe charming qualities, in a word, were ſtifled there in the cradle.

8. The *code of Chineſe politeneſs is very long.*—A man of common ſenſe would infer from this, that politeneſs, in China, is not the ſimple and natural expreſſion of attentive complaiſance and general good-will, but merely a formal etiquette; and he would conſider the cordial appearance of thoſe dirty carmen who kneel to each other, who embrace, who addreſs each other in the moſt affectionate terms, and who lend each other a mutual aſſiſtance, as a kind of mummery practiſed among a ceremonious people.

9. There *is a tribunal eſtabliſhed, to take cognizance of offences againſt cuſtom.*—A man of common ſenſe would ſuſpect, that juſtice would be more properly adminiſtered againſt theſe trifling offences, than in the civil tribunals againſt crimes of greater magnitude; and he would doubt much, whether the powers of the ſoul could be exalted, or the ſprings of genius brought into action, under the ſhackles of rites, ceremonies, and formalities. He would imagine, that a people devoted to ceremony, muſt inevitably be narrow-minded; and without ever having lived at Pekin or at Nankin, he would venture to aſſert, that there is no country in the world in which there is leſs regard for virtue, or more attention to the appearances of it.

10. All perſons who have traded with the Chineſe, are unanimous in declaring, that the utmoſt precautions are neceſſary, to prevent being duped by them. They are not even aſhamed of their diſhoneſty.

A certain European, in his firſt voyage to this empire, bought ſome merchandiſe of a Chineſe, who cheated him, both in the quality and the price. The goods had been carried on board of ſhip, and the bargain was completed. The European flattered himſelf, that he might poſſibly move the Chineſe by moderate repreſentations, and ſaid to him, '*Chineſe, thou haſt ſold me bad goods.*'—'*That may be,*' replied the Chineſe, '*but you muſt pay.*'—'*Thou haſt broken the laws of juſtice, and abuſed my confidence.*'—'*That may be, but you muſt pay.*'—'*But thou art then no better than a rogue or a thief.*'—'*That may be, but you muſt pay.*'

BOOK I. —'*What opinion, then, muſt I carry back to my country, of thoſe Chineſe, ſo celebrated for wiſdom? I ſhall ſay, that you are a ſet of raſcals.*'—'*That may be, but you muſt pay.*' The European having added to theſe reproaches every injurious epithet ſuggeſted to him by his rage, without being able to get any thing more than theſe cool words, pronounced with deliberation, '*That may be, but you muſt pay*—,' at length pulled out his purſe, and laid down the money. The Chineſe then taking it up, ſaid to him: 'European, inſtead of ſtorming againſt me in the manner you have juſt been doing, would it not have been better for you to hold your tongue, and to do at firſt what you have been obliged to come to at laſt? For, after all, what have you got by it?'

The Chineſe, therefore, have not even that remaining ſenſe of ſhame common to all profeſſed rogues, who ſtill will not ſubmit to be told that they are ſo. They are, conſequently, arrived at the laſt ſtage of depravity. Neither are we to imagine, that the inſtance here quoted is a ſingular one: theſe phlegmatic manners are the natural effect of that reſerve which is inſpired by the Chineſe mode of education.

Neither is it to be urged, that the Chineſe obſerve the rules of good faith among themſelves, while they think themſelves free from this obligation in their intercourſe with ſtrangers. This, certainly, is not, becauſe it cannot be. A man cannot be alternately honeſt and diſhoneſt. The man who has made it a practice to cheat foreigners, is too often expoſed to the temptation of cheating his fellow-citizens, to be able conſtantly to reſiſt it.

11. But it may be objected, that, according to theſe repreſentations, China is a barbarous country. I anſwer, it is ſtill worſe. The half-civilized Chineſe appear to me as ſavages, with pretenſions to civilization: they are a people completely corrupt, a condition more wretched than that of ſimple and natural barbariſm. The principle of virtue may unfold itſelf in a ſavage, by a ſeries of favourable circumſtances; but

we know of no circumſtance, nor can we conceive any one, capable of rendering this important ſervice to a Chineſe, in whom this principle is not ſtifled, but totally obliterated. To the depravity and ignorance of theſe people, we may add their ridiculous vanity. Do they not ſay, that *they have two eyes, while we have but one; and that the reſt of the world is blind?* This prejudice, their exceſſive population, the indifference they have for their ſovereigns, which is probably the conſequence of it, the obſtinate attachment they have to their cuſtoms, the prohibition eſtabliſhed by their laws of going out of their country; all theſe circumſtances muſt neceſſarily fix the Chineſe in their preſent ſtate, during an indefinite courſe of ages. The man who thinks all knowledge centered in himſelf, or who deſpiſes what he is ignorant of, will never learn any thing. How is it poſſible to teach wiſdom to him who ſuppoſes himſelf the only wiſe man? or, to improve him who eſteems himſelf arrived at perfection? We will venture to foretel, that the ſtate of the Chineſe will never be meliorated, either by war, peſtilence, famine, or even by tyranny, the moſt inſupportable of all theſe calamities, and, for this very reaſon, more proper than all the others combined, to regenerate a nation by the violence of its oppreſſion.

12. We know not whether the other nations of the univerſe have been of much advantage to the Chineſe; but of what ſervice have they been to the reſt of the earth? It ſhould ſeem that their encomiaſts have affected to beſtow upon them a degree of coloſſal magnitude, while they have reduced us to the low ſtature of pigmies. We, on the contrary, have been attentive to ſhow them as they are: and till they can bring us from Pekin, works of philoſophy ſuperior to thoſe of Deſcartes and Locke; mathematical treatiſes that may be compared to thoſe of Newton, Leibnitz, and their followers; pieces of poetry, eloquence, literature, and erudition, not unworthy the attention of our great writers, and the depth, graces, taſte, and refinement of which they ſhall be forced to acknowledge; till they

BOOK I. can produce from thence, diſcourſes upon morality, politics, legiſlation, finances, or commerce, which may contain only one ſingle line of novelty to our men of genius; till they can exhibit vaſes, ſtatues, pictures, muſical inſtruments, or plans of architecture, fit for our artiſts to conſider, or philoſophical inſtruments and machines, in which the inferiority of ours ſhall be very palpable: till theſe things, I ſay, can be brought to us from China, we ſhall retort upon the Chineſe his own ſaying; and we ſhall tell him, that he, perhaps, has but one eye, and that we have two: we ſhall carefully avoid inſulting other nations which we may have left behind us in the career of ſcience, and which are deſtined, perhaps, to get beyond us in ſome future time. Who is that Confucius of whom we hear ſo much talk, when compared to Sidney or Monteſquieu?

13. The *Chineſe nation is the moſt laborious of any that is known.* We have no doubt of it; it is neceſſary they ſhould labour, and that their labour ſhould be renewed. Are they not condemned to this, from the diſproportion between the produce of their ſoil, and the number of their inhabitants? We may, however, conclude from hence, that this population, ſo much boaſted of, has its limits, beyond which it becomes a calamity, which deprives man of his natural reſt, leads him on to deſperate actions, and deſtroys in his mind the principles of honour, delicacy, and morality, and even the ſentiment of humanity.

14. And ſhall we ſtill perſiſt, after all that has been ſaid, in calling the Chineſe nation *a people of ſages?* A people of ſages, among whom children are expoſed and put to death! where the moſt infamous of all debaucheries is common! where man is mutilated! where the government knows not how to prevent or puniſh the crimes occaſioned by a dearth! where the merchant cheats both the foreigner and the citizen! where the knowledge of the language is the ultimate point of ſcience! where, for a ſucceſſion of ages, a character and mode of writing has been adhered to, which is ſcarcely ſufficient for the common tranſac-

tions of life! where the inſpectors of the manners are men deſtitute of honour and probity! where juſtice is, beyond compariſon, more corrupt than it is among the moſt degenerate people! where the works of the legiſlator, to whom all perſons pay homage, would not deſerve a reading, if the ignorance of the period in which he lived were not an apology for his writings! where, from the emperor to the meaneſt of his ſubjects, we ſee nothing more than a continued ſeries of rapacious beings devouring each other! in a word, where the ſovereign only ſuffers ſome of his immediate dependants to enrich themſelves, in order that he may acquire at once the ſpoils of the extortioner, and the title of avenger of his people.

15. If it be true, as we do not doubt it, that, in China, every thing which will not admit of a diviſion, ſuch as the ſea, the rivers, the canals, navigation, fiſhing, and hunting, belongs in common to all; it muſt be acknowledged, that this is a very reaſonable order of things. But is it poſſible, that ſo numerous a people could patiently have abandoned their harveſt for the nouriſhment of animals? And if perſons of high rank had arrogated to themſelves the excluſive enjoyment of the woods and waters, would not ſuch an encroachment have been followed by a ſpeedy and juſt revenge? Let us endeavour not to confound the laws of neceſſity with the inſtitutions of wiſdom.

16. Have not the Chineſe a ſet of monks more intriguing, more diſſolute, more idle, and in greater number than ours? Monks! leeches! in a country where the moſt continued labour ſcarce furniſhes the means of ſubſiſtence! *But, the government deſpiſes them.* Say, rather, that it ſtands in awe of them, and that they are revered by the people.

17. It might, perhaps, be an advantageous circumſtance, if, in all countries, as we are aſſured it is in China, the adminiſtration were attached to no doctrine, to no ſect, nor to any particular mode of religious worſhip. This toleration, however, extends no farther than to the religious ſyſtems anciently ſettled

BOOK I.

in the empire. Chriſtianity has been proſcribed there, either becauſe the myſterious foundation of its doctrine has diſguſted men of weak underſtandings; or, becauſe the intrigues of thoſe who propagated it have excited the alarms of a ſuſpicious government.

18. In China, the merit of the ſon confers the rank of nobility on his father, with whom this prerogative ends. This is an inſtitution which we cannot but applaud; although it muſt be acknowledged, that the ſyſtem of hereditary nobility has its advantages. Where ſhall we find the deſcendant of an illuſtrious family ſo abject, as not to feel the obligations impoſed upon him by a reſpectable name, or not to exert his efforts to make his conduct anſwerable to it? If we degrade the nobleman who has made himſelf unworthy of his anceſtors, we ſhall be as wiſe upon this point as the Chineſe.

19. There is nothing we are ſo deſirous of as to commend. Accordingly, we confeſs there is a great deal of prudence in the mode which the Chineſe uſe of puniſhing a neglect in paying the taxes. Inſtead of fixing in the houſe of the debtor a ſet of ſatellites who ſeize upon his bed, his utenſils, his furniture, his cattle, or his perſon; inſtead of dragging him into priſon, or leaving him extended without bread, upon ſtraw, in his cottage, after it has been ſtript of every thing; it is certainly better to ſentence him to feed the poor. But the man who ſhould infer the wiſdom of China from this excellent cuſtom alone, would be as inaccurate a logician as he, who, from our cuſtoms upon the ſame occaſion, ſhould conclude that we were a barbarous people. The cenſure which the Chineſe deſerve, is ſoftened as much as poſſible; and that country is exalted in order to depreciate ours. We are not directly told that we are mad; but it is declared, without heſitation, that it is at China that wiſdom dwells: and immediately afterwards it is ſaid, that according to the laſt calculation, China contained about ſixty millions of men capable of bearing arms. Extravagant panegyriſts of China, do ye underſtand

yourſelves? Have you an exact conception of ſuch a number as two hundred millions of individuals heaped one upon the other? Believe me, you muſt either ſubſtract one-half or three-fourths of this enormous population; or, if you perſiſt in giving credit to it, acknowledge, from the good ſenſe you poſſeſs, and from the reſult of the experience that is ſubmitted to your inſpection, that there is not, and that there cannot be, either policy or manners in China.

20. *The Chineſe extends his benevolence to the ſucceeding, as well as to the preſent generation.* This is impoſſible. Children, fond of the marvellous, how long will ye be amuſed with ſuch ſtories? Every nation which is conſtantly obliged to ſtrive againſt want, cannot extend its thoughts beyond the preſent moment; and were it not for the honours publicly paid to anceſtors, ceremonies which muſt excite and keep up in the minds of men, a faint idea of ſomething beyond the grave, we ought to admit it as a demonſtration, that if there be any part of the world where the ſenſe of immortality, and the reſpect for poſterity, are expreſſions deſtitute of meaning, it muſt be in China. We do not perceive that we carry every thing to the extreme, and that the only reſult of ſuch extravagant opinions is palpable contradiction; that an exceſſive population is inconſiſtent with good morals; and that we decorate a depraved multitude with the virtues which belong only to a few diſtinguiſhed perſons.

The ſeveral arguments of the partiſans, and of the calumniators of China, are now ſubmitted to the judgment of our readers, to whom it is left to decide: for why ſhould we be ſo preſumptuous as to attempt to direct their judgment? If we might be allowed to hazard an opinion, we ſhould ſay, that although theſe two ſyſtems be ſupported by reſpectable teſtimonies, yet theſe authorities do not bear the marks of that great character that requires an implicit faith. Perhaps, in order to decide this matter, we muſt wait till ſome impartial and judicious men, and who are well verſed in the Chineſe writing and language, ſhall be

BOOK I. permitted to make a long residence at the court of Pekin, to go through all the provinces, to live in the country villages, and to converse freely with the Chineſe of all ranks.

Whatever may have been the ſtate of China when the Portugueſe landed there, as they had no other object in view than to draw riches from thence, and to propagate their religion, had they found the beſt kind of government eſtabliſhed in this country, they would not have profited by it. Thomas Perez, their ambaſſador, found the court of Pekin diſpoſed to favour his nation, the fame of which had ſpread itſelf throughout Aſia. It had already attracted the eſteem of the Chineſe, which the conduct of Ferdinand Andrada, who commanded the Portugueſe ſquadron, tended ſtill further to increaſe. He viſited all the coaſts of China, and traded with the natives. When he was on the point of departure, he iſſued a proclamation in the ports he had put into, that if any one had been injured by a Portugueſe, and would make it known, he ſhould receive ſatisfaction. The ports of China were now upon the point of being opened to them: Thomas Perez was juſt about concluding a treaty, when Simon Andrada, brother to Ferdinand, appeared on the coaſts with a freſh ſquadron. This commander treated the Chineſe in the ſame manner as the Portugueſe had, for ſome time, treated all the people of Aſia. He built a fort without permiſſion, in the iſland of Taman, from whence he took opportunities of pillaging, and extorting money from all the ſhips bound from, or to the ports of China. He carried off young girls from the coaſt; he ſeized upon the Chineſe, and made ſlaves of them; he gave himſelf up to the moſt licentious acts of piracy, and the moſt ſhameful diſſoluteneſs. The ſailors and ſoldiers under his command followed his example. The Chineſe, enraged at theſe outrages, fitted out a large fleet: the Portugueſe defended themſelves courageouſly, and eſcaped by making their way through the enemy's fleet. The emperor impriſoned Thomas Perez, who died in confinement,

and the Portugueſe nation was baniſhed from China for ſome years. After this, the Chineſe relaxed, and gave permiſſion to the Portugueſe to trade at the port of Sancian, to which place they brought gold from Africa, ſpices from the Molucca iſlands, and from Ceylon elephants teeth, and ſome precious ſtones. In return, they took ſilks of every kind, china, gums, medicinal herbs, and tea, which has ſince become ſo neceſſary a commodity to the northern nations of Europe. BOOK L

The Portugueſe contented themſelves with the huts and factories they had at Sancian, and the liberty granted to their trade by the Chineſe government, till an opportunity offered of eſtabliſhing themſelves upon a footing more ſolid, and leſs dependent upon the mandarins, who had the command of the coaſt.

A pirate, named Tchang-ſi-lao, whoſe ſucceſſes had made him powerful, had ſeized upon the iſland of Macao, from whence he blocked up the ports of China, and even proceeded ſo far as to lay ſiege to Canton. The neighbouring mandarins had recourſe to the Portugueſe, who had ſhips in the harbour of Sancian; they haſtened to the relief of Canton, raiſed the ſiege, and obtained a complete victory over the pirate, whom they purſued as far as Macao, where he ſlew himſelf.

The emperor of China, informed of the ſervice the Portugueſe had rendered him on this occaſion, beſtowed Macao on them, as a mark of his gratitude. They received this grant with joy, and built a town which became very flouriſhing, and was advantageouſly ſituated for the trade they ſoon after entered into with Japan.

Arrival of the Portugueſe at Japan. Religion, manners, and government of theſe iſlands.

In the year 1542, it happened that a Portugueſe veſſel was fortunately driven by a ſtorm on the coaſt of theſe celebrated iſlands. The crew were hoſpitably received, and obtained of the natives every thing they wanted to refreſh, and refit them for the ſea. When they arrived at Goa, they reported what they had ſeen, and informed the viceroy, that a new country, not leſs rich than populous, preſented itſelf to the zeal of the miſſionaries, and the induſtry of the merchants. Both

BOOK I.

miſſionaries and merchants embarked without delay for Japan.

They found a great empire, which is, perhaps, the moſt ancient of any in the world, except that of China; its annals are not without a great mixture of fable, but it appears beyond a doubt, that in the year 660, Sin-chu founded the monarchy, which has ever ſince been continued in the ſame family. Theſe ſovereigns called Dairos, were at the ſame time the kings and pontiffs of the nation; and by virtue of theſe united powers, got the whole extent of the ſupreme authority into their hands. The perſon of the Dairos was ſacred, they were conſidered as the deſcendents and repreſentatives of the gods. The leaſt diſobedience to the moſt trifling of their laws, was looked upon as a crime ſcarcely to be expiated by the ſevereſt puniſhment; nor was this confined to the offender alone, his whole family was involved in the conſequences of his crime.

About the eleventh century, theſe princes, who, no doubt, were more jealous of the pleaſing prerogatives of prieſthood, than of the troubleſome rights of royalty, divided the ſtate into ſeveral governments, and intruſted the adminiſtration of them to ſuch of the nobility as were diſtinguiſhed for their knowledge and wiſdom.

Thus the unlimited power of the Dairos ſuffered a conſiderable change. The affairs of the empire were left to fluctuate at all adventures. The reſtleſs and quick-ſighted ambition of their viceroys, took advantage of this inattention to bring about a variety of revolutions. By degrees they began to depart from the allegiance they had ſworn to preſerve. They made war upon each other, and even upon their ſovereign. An abſolute independence was the conſequence of theſe commotions: ſuch was the ſtate of Japan, when it was diſcovered by the Portugueſe.

The great iſlands of which this empire is compoſed, being ſituated in a tempeſtuous climate, ſurrounded by ſtorms, agitated by volcanos, and ſubject to thoſe great

natural events which impreſs terror on the human mind, were inhabited by a people entirely addicted to ſuperſtition, but divided into ſeveral ſects. That of Xinto is the ancient eſtabliſhed religion of the country: it acknowledges a Supreme Being, and the immortality of the ſoul; and pays adoration to a multitude of gods, ſaints, or camis, that is to ſay, the ſouls of great men, who have been the ſupport and ornament of their country. It is by the authority of this religion that the Dairo, high-prieſt of the gods, from whom he claimed his deſcent, had long reigned over his ſubjects with that deſpotic ſway, with which ſuperſtition governs the mind. Being both emperor and high-prieſt, he had rendered religion, in ſome reſpects, uſeful to his people, which is not abſolutely impoſſible in countries where the ſacerdotal and civil power are united in the ſame perſon.

It does not appear that the ſect of Xinto has had the madneſs, which of all others is the moſt dangerous to morality, to fix a criminal ſtigma on actions innocent in themſelves. Far from encouraging that gloomy fanaticiſm and dread of the gods, which is inſpired by almoſt all other religions, the Xinto ſect had applied itſelf to prevent, or at leaſt to moderate this diſorder of the imagination, by inſtituting feſtivals, which were celebrated three times in every month. They were dedicated to friendly viſits, feaſts, and rejoicings. The prieſts of Xinto taught, that the innocent pleaſures of mankind are agreeable to the deity, and that the beſt method of paying devotion to the camis, is to imitate their virtues, and to enjoy in this world that happineſs they experience in another. In conſequence of this tenet, the Japaneſe, after having put up their prayers in the temples, which are always ſituated in the midſt of groves, reſorted to courtezans, who commonly inhabited places conſecrated to love and devotion, and compoſed a religious community under the direction of an order of monks, who received a ſhare of the profits ariſing from this pious compliance with the dictates of nature.

BOOK I.

The Budzoiſts are another ſect in Japan, of which Budzo was the founder. Their doctrine was near the ſame with that of the ſect of Xinto; over which they hoped to gain a ſuperiority by the ſeverity of their morals. Beſide the deity of the Xintoiſts, the Budzoiſts worſhipped an Amida, a kind of mediator between God and mankind; as well as other mediatorial divinities between men and Amida. The profeſſors of this religion flattered themſelves that they ſhould prevail over the religion of Xinto by the multitude of their precepts, the exceſs of their auſterity, their devotions and mortifications.

The ſpirit of Budzoiſm is dreadful. It breathes nothing but penitence, exceſſive fear, and cruel ſeverity. Of all fanaticiſms, it is the moſt terrible. The monks of this ſect oblige their diſciples to paſs one half of their lives in penance, to expiate imaginary ſins; and inflict upon them the greateſt part of that penance themſelves, with a tyranny and cruelty, of which one may conceive an idea from the inquiſitors in Spain; with this difference, that the Japaneſe fathers are themſelves the executioners of theſe voluntary victims to ſuperſtition; whereas the inquiſitors are only the judges of thoſe ſins and puniſhments which they have themſelves deviſed and invented. The Budzoiſt prieſts keep the minds of their followers in a continual ſtate of torture, between remorſe and expiations. Their religion is ſo overloaded with precepts, that it is not poſſible to obſerve them. They repreſent their gods as always offended, and thirſting for vengeance.

It may be readily imagined, what effects ſo horrible a ſuperſtition muſt have on the character of the people, and to what degree of ferocity it hath brought them. The lights of a ſound morality, a little philoſophy, and a prudent ſyſtem of education might have remedied theſe laws, this government, and this religion; which conſpire to make mankind more ſavage in ſociety with his own ſpecies, than if he lived in the woods, and had no companions but the monſters that roam about the deſerts.

In China, they put into the hands of children books of inſtruction, which contain a detail of their duties, and teach them the advantages of virtue. The Japaneſe children are made to get by heart poems in which the actions of their forefathers are celebrated; a contempt of life is inculcated, and ſuicide is ſet up as the moſt heroic of all actions. Theſe ſongs and poems, which are ſaid to be full of energy and beauty, beget enthuſiaſm. The Chineſe education tends to regulate the ſoul, and keep it in order: the Japaneſe, to inflame and excite it to heroiſm. Theſe are guided through life by ſentiment; the Chineſe by reaſon and cuſtom.

The Chineſe aim only at truth in their writings, and place their happineſs in a ſtate of tranquillity. The Japaneſe are eager in the purſuit of pleaſure, and would rather ſuffer, than be without feeling. In a word, the Chineſe ſeem to wiſh to counteract the violence and impetuoſity of the ſoul; the Japaneſe to keep it from ſinking into a ſtate of languor and inactivity.

It is natural to imagine that people of this character muſt be fond of novelty. The Portugueſe were accordingly received with all poſſible demonſtrations of joy. All the ports were open to them. All the petty princes of the country invited them to their provinces: each contending who ſhould give them the moſt valuable advantages, grant them the moſt privileges, and ſhow them the greateſt civilities. Theſe merchants eſtabliſhed a prodigious trade. The Portugueſe carried thither the commodities of India which they brought from different markets; and Macao ſerved as a repoſitory for their European goods. Immenſe quantities of the productions of Europe and Aſia were conſumed by the Dairo, the uſurpers of his rights, the nobles, and the whole nation. But what had they to give in return?

The country of Japan is in general mountainous, ſtony, and by no means fertile. Its produce in rice, barley, and wheat, which are the only crops it admits

BOOK I.

of, is not ſufficient for the maintenance of its numerous inhabitants; who, notwithſtanding their activity, foreſight, and frugality, muſt periſh with famine, if the ſea did not ſupply them with great quantities of fiſh. The empire affords no productions proper for exportation; nor do the mechanic arts furniſh any article of trade except works in ſteel, which are the beſt we are acquainted with.

Were it not for the advantages it derives from its mines of gold, ſilver, and copper, which are the richeſt in Aſia, and perhaps in the whole world, Japan could not ſupport its own expences. The Portugueſe every year carried off quantities of theſe metals, to the amount of fourteen or fifteen millions of livres [on an average, about 600,000l.]. They married alſo the richeſt of the Japaneſe heireſſes, and allied themſelves to the moſt powerful families.

Extent of the Portugueſe dominions in India.

With ſuch advantages, the avarice as well as the ambition of the Portugueſe might have been ſatisfied. They were maſters of the coaſt of Guinea, Arabia, Perſia, and the two peninſulas of India. They were poſſeſſed of the Moluccas, Ceylon, and the iſles of Sunda, while their ſettlement at Macao enſured to them the commerce of China and Japan.

Throughout this immenſe tract, the will of the Portugueſe was the ſupreme law. Land and ſea acknowledged their ſovereignty. Their authority was ſo abſolute, that things and perſons were dependent upon them, and moved entirely by their directions. No nation or private perſon dared to make voyages, or carry on trade, without obtaining their permiſſion and paſſport. Thoſe who had this liberty granted them, were prohibited from trading in cinnamon, ginger, pepper, timber, iron, ſteel, lead, tin, and arms, of which the conquerors reſerved to themſelves the excluſive benefit. A number of valuable articles, by which ſo many nations have ſince enriched themſelves, and which then bore a higher price on account of their novelty, were entirely engroſſed by the Portugueſe. In conſequence of this monopoly, the prices of the

produce and manufactures both in Europe and Aſia were regulated at their diſcretion.

In the midſt of ſo much glory, wealth, and conqueſt, the Portugueſe had not neglected that part of Africa, which lies between the Cape of Good Hope and the Red Sea, and has in all ages been famed for the richneſs of its productions. The poſſeſſion of this country was on many accounts an important object: the Arabians had been ſettled there for ſeveral ages, and their numbers were greatly increaſed. They had formed along the coaſt of Zanguebar ſeveral ſmall independent ſovereignties, ſome of which made a conſiderable figure, and almoſt all of them were in good condition. The flouriſhing ſtate of theſe ſettlements was owing to the mines of gold and ſilver, found within their reſpective territories, the produce of which enabled them to purchaſe the commodities of India. To poſſeſs themſelves of this treaſure, and to deprive their competitors of it, was looked upon by the Portugueſe as an indiſpenſible duty. Agreeable to this principle, theſe Arabian merchants were attacked, and without much difficulty ſubdued, about the year 1508. Upon their ruin was eſtabliſhed an empire, extending from Sofala as far as Melinda, of which the iſland of Moſambique was made the centre. This iſland is ſeparated from the continent only by a narrow channel, and is no more than two leagues in circumference. Its port, which is excellent, and wants no advantage but that of a purer air, was fixed upon as a place for the veſſels of the conqueror to put in at, and as a ſtaple for all their merchandiſe. Here they uſed to wait for thoſe ſettled winds, which at certain times of the year blow without intermiſſion from the African to the Indian coaſts, and which at other times blow in an oppoſite direction from the coaſts of India to thoſe of Africa.

Degeneracy of the Portugueſe in India.

Theſe ſucceſſes, properly improved, might have formed a power ſo conſiderable, that it could not have been ſhaken; but the vices and folly of ſome of their chiefs, the abuſe of riches and of power, the wantonneſs of

BOOK I. victory, the diſtance of their own country, changed the character of the Portugueſe. Religious zeal, which had added ſo much force and activity to their courage, now produced in them nothing but ferocity. They made no ſcruple of pillaging, cheating, and enſlaving the idolaters. They ſuppoſed that the Pope, in beſtowing the kingdoms of Aſia upon the Portugueſe monarchs, had not with-holden the property of individuals from their ſubjects. Being abſolute maſters of the eaſtern ſeas, they extorted a tribute from the ſhips of every country; they ravaged the coaſts, inſulted the princes, and became, in a ſhort time, the terror and ſcourge of all nations.

The king of Tidor was carried off from his own palace, and murdered, with his children, whom he had intruſted to the care of the Portugueſe.

At Ceylon, the people were not ſuffered to cultivate the earth, except for their new maſters, who treated them with the greateſt barbarity.

At Goa they had eſtabliſhed the inquiſition, and whoever was rich became a prey to the miniſters of that infamous tribunal.

Faria, who was ſent out againſt the pirates from Malacca, China, and other parts, made a deſcent on the iſland of Calampui, and plundered the ſepulchres of the Chineſe emperors.

Souza cauſed all the pagodas on the Malabar coaſt to be deſtroyed; and his people inhumanly maſſacred the wretched Indians, who went to weep over the ruins of their temples.

Correa terminated an obſtinate war with the king of Pegu, and both parties were to ſwear on the books of their ſeveral religions to obſerve the treaty. Correa ſwore on a collection of ſongs, and thought by this vile ſtratagem to elude his engagement.

Nuno d'Acunha reſolved to make himſelf maſter of the iſland of Daman on the coaſt of Cambaya; the inhabitants offered to ſurrender it to him, if he would permit them to carry off their treaſures. This requeſt was refuſed, and Nuno put them all to the ſword.

Diego de Silveira was cruizing in the Red Sea. A veſſel richly laden ſaluted him. The captain came on board, and gave him a letter from a Portugueſe general, which was to be his paſſport. The letter contained only theſe words: *I deſire the captains of ſhips belonging to the king of Portugal to ſeize upon this Mooriſh veſſel, as a lawful prize.*

In a ſhort time the Portugueſe preſerved no more humanity or good faith with each other than with the natives. Almoſt all the ſtates, where they had the command, were divided into factions.

A mixture of avarice, debauchery, cruelty, and devotion, prevailed every where in their manners. They had moſt of them ſeven or eight concubines, whom they kept to work with the utmoſt rigour, and forced from them the money they earned by their labour. Such treatment of women was very repugnant to the ſpirit of chivalry.

The chiefs and principal officers admitted to their table a multitude of thoſe ſinging and dancing women, with which India abounds. Effeminacy introduced itſelf into their houſes and armies. The officers marched to meet the enemy in palanquins. That brilliant courage, which had ſubdued ſo many nations, exiſted no longer among them. The Portugueſe were with difficulty brought to fight, except where there was a proſpect of plunder. In a ſhort time the king of Portugal no longer received the produce of the tribute, which was paid him by more than one hundred and fifty eaſtern princes. This money was loſt in its way from them to him. Such corruption prevailed in the finances, that the tributes of ſovereigns, the revenues of provinces, which ought to have been immenſe, the taxes levied in gold, ſilver, and ſpices, on the inhabitants of the continent and iſlands, were not ſufficient to keep up a few citadels, and to fit out the ſhipping that was neceſſary for the protection of trade.

It would be a melancholy circumſtance to fix our attention upon the decline of a nation, that ſhould

BOOK I. have ſignalized itſelf by exploits uſeful to mankind, that ſhould have enlightened the world, or increaſed its own ſplendour and happineſs, without being the ſcourge of its neighbours or of diſtant regions. But we ſhould conſider there is a great difference between the hero who ſpills his blood in the defence of his country, and a ſet of intrepid robbers, who expoſe themſelves to death in a foreign ſoil, or who put its innocent and wretched inhabitants to the ſword. *Serve or die*, the Portugueſe uſed inſolently to ſay to every people they met in their rapid progreſs marked with blood. It is a grateful thing to behold the downfal of ſuch tyranny; and a conſolation to expect the puniſhment of thoſe treacheries, murders, and cruelties, with which it has been preceded or followed. Far from regretting the overthrow of theſe ſavage conquerors, I ſhould rather grieve at the wiſe policy of Juan de Caſtro, becauſe it ſeemed to promiſe a revival of that ſpirit, which is called by the vulgar the heroiſm of Portugal; and which I myſelf, perhaps, led away by habit, have not treated with all the indignation I felt at it. If I have been guilty of this neglect, I aſk pardon for it of God and of [illegible]

Barbarous Europeans! the brilliancy of your enterpriſes has not impoſed upon me, nor has your ſucceſs prevented me from ſeeing the injuſtice of them. I have often embarked with you in imagination on board the ſhips that were to convey you to theſe diſtant regions; but when my fancy has landed me along with you, and that I have been witneſs of your enormities, I have withdrawn myſelf from you; I have thrown myſelf among your enemies; I have taken up arms againſt you, and have imbrued my hands in your blood. I here make a ſolemn proteſtation of this; and if I have ever ceaſed, for one moment, conſidering you as a multitude of famiſhed and cruel vultures, with as little principles of morality and conſcience as are to be found among theſe rapacious birds of prey; may this work, and may my memory, if I

may be allowed to hope that I ſhall leave one behind me, ſink into the loweſt contempt, and become an object of execration!

Brilliant adminiſtration of Caſtro.

Caſtro was a man of much knowledge, conſidering the age he lived in. He poſſeſſed a noble and elevated ſoul; and the ſtudy of the ancients had cheriſhed in him that love of glory and of his country, which was ſo common among the Greeks and Romans.

In the beginning of his wiſe and glorious adminiſtration, Cojé-Sophar, miniſter of Mahmoud king of Cambaya, had inſpired his maſter with a deſign of attacking the Portugueſe. This man, whoſe father is ſaid to have been an Italian, and his mother a Greek, had raiſed himſelf from the condition of a ſlave to the conduct of the ſtate, and the command of armies. He had embraced Mohammediſm; and though he had really no religion, he knew how to avail himſelf of the averſion the people had conceived againſt the Portugueſe on account of the contempt they ſhowed for the religions of the country. He engaged in his ſervice experienced officers, veteran ſoldiers, able engineers, and even founders, whom he procured from Conſtantinople. His preparations ſeemed intended againſt the Mogul or the Patans; and, when the Portugueſe leaſt expected it, he attacked and made himſelf maſter of Diu, and laid ſiege to the citadel.

This place, which is ſituated on a little iſland upon the coaſt of Guzarat, had always been conſidered as the key of India in thoſe times, when navigators never launched beyond the coaſt; and Surat was the great ſtaple of the Eaſt. From the arrival of Gama, it had been conſtantly an object of ambition to the Portugueſe, into whoſe hands it fell at length in the time of d'Acunha. Maicarenhas, who was governor of it at the juncture we are ſpeaking of, and who ſhould have had nine hundred men, had only three: the reſt of his garriſon, according to an abuſe very common in thoſe days, were employed in trade at the different towns upon the coaſt. He muſt have ſurrendered, if he had not received immediate aſſiſtance. Caſtro ſent him a

BOOK I. reinforcement under the command of his ſon, who was killed in the attack. Cojé-Sophar ſhared the ſame fate; but his death did not ſlacken the operations of the ſiege.

Caſtro inſtituted funeral games in honour of thoſe who had fallen in defence of their country. He congratulated their parents in the name of the government, and received congratulations himſelf on the death of his eldeſt ſon. His ſecond preſided at the funeral games, and marched immediately after for Diu, to deſerve, as it were, the honours he had juſt been paying to his brother. The garriſon repulſed the enemy in every attack, and ſignalized themſelves every day by extraordinary actions. In the eyes of the Indians, the Portugueſe were more than men. *Happily*, ſaid they, *Providence has decreed that there ſhould be but as few of them as there are of tygers and lions, leſt they ſhould exterminate the human ſpecies.*

Caſtro himſelf headed a larger reinforcement than he had ſent. He threw himſelf into the citadel with proviſions, and above four thouſand men. It was debated whether they ſhould give battle. The reaſons on both ſides were diſcuſſed. Garcia de Sa, an old officer, commanded ſilence; *We have all ſpoken*, ſaid he, *now let us fight.* Caſtro was of the ſame opinion. The Portugueſe marched out to the enemy's intrenchments, and gained a ſignal victory. After having raiſed the ſiege, it was neceſſary to repair the citadel. They were in want of money, and Caſtro borrowed it on his own credit.

On his return to Goa, he wiſhed to give his army the honours of a triumph after the manner of the ancients. He thought that ſuch honours would ſerve to revive the warlike ſpirit of the Portugueſe, and that the pomp of the ceremony might have a great effect on the imagination of the people. At his entry, the gates of the city were ornamented with triumphal arches; the ſtreets were lined with tapeſtry; the women appeared at the windows in magnificent habits, and ſcattered flowers and perfumes upon the conquer-

BOOK I.

ors; while the people danced to the ſound of muſical inſtruments. The royal ſtandard was carried before the victorious ſoldiers, who marched in order. The viceroy, crowned with branches of palm, rode on a ſuperb car: the generals of the enemy followed it, and after them the ſoldiers that had been made priſoners. The colours that had been taken from them, were carried in proceſſion, reverſed and dragging on the ground, and were followed by their artillery and baggage. Repreſentations of the citadel they had delivered, and of the battle they had gained, enhanced the ſplendour of the ſpectacle. Verſes, ſongs, orations, firing of cannon, all concurred to render the feſtival magnificent, agreeable, and ſtriking.

Accounts of this triumph were brought to Europe. Men who formed pretenſions to wit, condemned it as ridiculous; and bigots called it profane. The queen of Portugal ſaid upon the occaſion, *That Caſtro had conquered like a Chriſtian, and triumphed like a Pagan hero.*

The vigour of the Portugueſe, which Caſtro had re-animated, did not long continue. Corruption made daily advances among the citizens of every claſs. One of the viceroys thought of ſetting up boxes in the principal towns, in which any perſon might put memorials and articles of intelligence. Such a method might be very uſeful, and tend to a reformation of abuſes in an enlightened country, where the morals of the inhabitants were not totally ſpoiled; but among a ſuperſtitious and corrupt people, it was not likely to be of any ſervice.

The Portugueſe grow effeminate, and are no longer formidable.

The original conquerors of India were none of them now in being; and their country, exhauſted by too many enterpriſes and colonies, was not in a capacity to replace them. The defenders of the Portugueſe ſettlements were born in Aſia: their opulence, the ſoftneſs of the climate, the manner of living, and, perhaps, the nature of the food, had taken from them much of the intrepidity of their forefathers. At the ſame time that they gave themſelves up to all thoſe

BOOK I.

excesses which make men hated, they had not courage enough left to inspire the people with terror. They were monsters; poison, fire, assassination, every sort of crime was become familiar to them: nor were they private persons only who were guilty of such practices; men in office set them the example! They massacred the natives; they destroyed one another. The governor, who was just arrived, loaded his predecessor with irons, that he might deprive him of his wealth. The distance of the scene, false witnesses, and large bribes, secured every crime from punishment.

The island of Amboyna was the first to avenge itself. A Portuguese had, at a public festival, seized upon a very beautiful woman; and, regardless of all decency, had proceeded to the greatest of outrages. One of the islanders, named Genulio, armed his fellow-citizens; after which, he called together the Portuguese, and addressed them in the following manner: "To revenge affronts of so cruel a nature as those we "have received from you, would require actions, not "words: yet we will speak to you. You preach to "us a deity, who delights, you say, in generous actions; but theft, murder, obscenity, and drunkenness, are your common practice; your hearts are "inflamed with every vice. Our manners can never "agree with yours: Nature foresaw this, when she "separated us by immense seas; and ye have overleaped her barriers. This audacity, of which ye are "not ashamed to boast, is a proof of the corruption "of your hearts. Take my advice; leave to their repose these nations, that resemble you so little; go, "fix your habitations among those who are as brutal "as yourselves; an intercourse with you would be "more fatal to us, than all the evils which it is in the "power of your God to inflict upon us. We renounce "your alliance for ever: your arms are superior to "ours; but we are more just than you, and we do not "fear you. The Itons are from this day your enemies; fly from their country, and beware how you "approach it again."

This harangue, which, thirty years before, would have brought on the deſtruction of Amboyna, was liſtened to with a degree of patience that fully demonſtrated what change had taken place among the Portugueſe.

A general conſpiracy is formed againſt the Portugueſe. The manner in which Ataida diſconcerts it.

Equally deteſted in every quarter, they ſaw a confederacy forming to expel them from the Eaſt. All the great powers of India entered into the league, and for two or three years carried on their preparations in ſecret. The court of Liſbon was informed of them; and the reigning King Sebaſtian, who, if it had not been for his ſuperſtition, would have been a great prince, diſpatched Ataida, and all the Portugueſe who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the wars of Europe, to India.

The general opinion on their arrival, was, to abandon the diſtant ſettlements, and aſſemble their forces on the Malabar coaſt, and in the neighbourhood of Goa. Although Ataida was of opinion, that too great a number of ſettlements had been formed, he was not pleaſed with the appearance of ſacrificing them. *Comrades*, ſaid he, *I mean to preſerve all; and ſo long as I live, the enemy ſhall not gain an inch of ground.* Immediately upon this, he ſent ſuccours to all the places that were in danger, and made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for defending Goa.

The Zamorin attacked Manjalor, Cochin, and Cananor. The king of Cambaya attacked Chaul, Daman, and Baichaim. The king of Achem laid ſiege to Malacca. The king of Ternate made war upon the Portugueſe in the Moluccas. Agalachem, a tributary to the Mogul, impriſoned the Portugueſe merchants at Surat. The queen of Garcopa endeavoured to drive them out of Onor.

Ataida, in the midſt of the care and trouble attending the ſiege of Goa, ſent five ſhips to Surat, which obliged Agalachem to ſet the Portugueſe whom he had ſeized, at liberty. Thirteen ſhips were diſpatched to Malacca; upon which, the king of Achem and his allies abandoned the ſiege. Ataida ordered even thoſe

BOOK I. veſſels to ſet ſail, which were employed every year to carry tribute and merchandiſe to Liſbon. It was repreſented to him, that, inſtead of depriving himſelf of the aſſiſtance of men who were to go on board this fleet, he ſhould preſerve them for the defence of India. *We ſhall be enough without them*, ſaid he; *the ſtate is in diſtreſs, and its expectations muſt not be diſappointed.* This reply ſurpriſed his opponents; and the fleet ſailed. At the time when the place was moſt vigorouſly preſſed by Idalcan, Ataida ſent troops to the ſuccour of Cochin, and ſhips to Ceylon. The archbiſhop, whoſe authority was unlimited, interpoſed to prevent it. *Sir*, replied Ataida, *you underſtand nothing of theſe affairs; content yourſelf with recommending them to the bleſſing of God.* The Portugueſe who came from Europe, exhibited prodigies of valour during this ſiege. It was oftentimes with difficulty, that Ataida could reſtrain them from throwing away their lives. Many of them would ſally out in the night, contrary to his orders, to attack the beſiegers in their lines.

The viceroy did not depend ſo entirely on the force of his arms, as to reject the aſſiſtance of policy. He was informed, that Idalcan was governed by one of his miſtreſſes, and that ſhe was in the camp with him. Women who devote themſelves to the pleaſures of princes, are generally ſlaves to ambition, and unacquainted with thoſe virtues which love inſpires. The miſtreſs of Idalcan ſuffered herſelf to be corrupted, and ſold to Ataida her lover's ſecrets. Idalcan was aware of the treaſon, but could not diſcover the traitor. At laſt, after ten months ſpent in toil and action, his tents deſtroyed, his troops diminiſhed, his elephants killed, and his cavalry unable to ſerve, this prince, overcome by the genius of Ataida, raiſed the ſiege, and retreated in ſhame and deſpair.

The brave Ataida demeaned his character, in corrupting the miſtreſs of Idalcan; while ſhe acted conſiſtently with hers, in betraying her lover. How is it poſſible, that a woman who has publicly ſold her honour to her ſovereign, ſhould heſitate to ſell the ho-

nour of her ſovereign, to him who knows how to ſet a proper price upon her perfidy? If a woman were capable of inſpiring her king with great ideas, ſhe would have a ſoul ſufficiently exalted to diſdain to become his courteſan; and whenever ſhe condeſcends to accept of this humiliating title, or when ſhe may, perhaps, become ſo abject as to think herſelf honoured by it, what has the nation to expect from her? Nothing but the corruption of manners in her lover, and in his favourites; the depredation of the treaſury; the elevation of the moſt inadequate and moſt infamous men to the moſt important offices; circumſtances which are the diſgrace of a long reign. Monarchs! a man of auſtere morals would have prohibited every unlawful connection; but if the laborious duties ye are expoſed to, call for our indulgence, let your vices at leaſt be concealed by great virtues. Have a miſtreſs, if ye muſt have one; but let her be a ſtranger to public affairs, and let her at leaſt be confined to the temporary direction of your amuſements. BOOK I.

Ataida marched without delay to the aſſiſtance of Chaul, which was beſieged by Nizam-al-Muluck, king of Cambaya, at the head of more than a hundred thouſand men. The defence of Chaul had been conducted with as much intrepidity as that of Goa. It was followed by a great victory, which Ataida, with a handful of men, obtained over a numerous army, diſciplined by a long ſiege.

Ataida, after this, marched againſt the Zamorin, defeated and obliged him to ſign a treaty, by which he engaged never to maintain any ſhips of war.

Such was the diſaſtrous end of a conſpiracy planned with a great deal of harmony, art, and ſecrecy, againſt a ſet of inſolent and oppreſſive uſurpers. The defeat of ſuch a number of people excites our regret; and it were to be wiſhed, that the virtues of Ataida had been employed in a better cauſe. To conciliate the admiration with which the conduct of this hero inſpires us, with the liberty of India, we could have wiſhed that he had met with a glorious death.

BOOK I. The Portugueſe became, throughout the Eaſt, what they were, under the immediate conduct of Ataida. A ſingle ſhip, commanded by Lopez Caraſco, fought for three days ſucceſſively againſt the whole fleet of the king of Achem. In the middle of the engagement, word was brought to Lopez's ſon, that his father was killed: *We have one brave man the leſs*, ſaid he; *we muſt conquer, or deſerve to die like him.* Saying this, he took the command of the ſhip, and forcing his way in triumph through the enemy's fleet, anchored before Malacca.

Nor was courage the only virtue that revived among the Portugueſe at this period; ſo powerful is the aſcendant of a great man, even over the moſt corrupt nations. Thomas de Sowza had got, as a ſlave, a beautiful girl, who had not long before been promiſed to a young man that was in love with her. Hearing of the misfortune of his miſtreſs, he flew to throw himſelf at her feet, and partake of her chains. Sowza was preſent at their interview: they embraced, and melted into tears. *I give you your liberty*, ſaid the Portugueſe general; *go, and live happy elſewhere.*

The management of the public money was likewiſe reformed by Ataida, who reſtrained thoſe abuſes which are moſt injurious to ſtates, and moſt difficult to be reſtrained. But this good order, this returning heroiſm, this glorious moment, did not ſurvive his adminiſtration.

State into which Portugal falls, when ſubdued by Spain.

Government is always a very complicated machine, which has its beginning, its progreſs, and its period of perfection, when it is well planned; on the other hand, when it is defective in its ſource, it has its beginning, its progreſs, and its period of extreme corruption. In either of theſe caſes, it comprehends ſuch an infinite number of objects, both within and without, that, when its diſſolution happens, either from the inability of the chief, or the violence of the ſubjects, it unavoidably brings on the moſt terrible conſequences. If the impatience of the ſubjects ſhould break the yoke, the weight of which they have been

no longer able to bear, a nation advances more or leſs rapidly towards anarchy, wading through ſtreams of blood. If it ſhould arrive, by imperceptible degrees, at this fatal period, through the indolence or weakneſs of the ſovereign, unable to hold the reins of empire, the effuſion of blood is ſpared, but the nation falls into a ſtate of annihilation. It is nothing more than a carcaſe, all the parts of which fall into putrefaction, are ſeparated and tranſformed into a maſs of worms, which periſh themſelves, after they have devoured every thing. In the mean while, the neighbouring nations are hovering round it, as we ſee birds of prey hovering about a carcaſe in the fields. They eaſily get poſſeſſion of a defenceleſs country; and the people then paſs into a worſe ſtate, than when they firſt emerged from barbariſm. The laws of the conqueror claſh with thoſe of the people conquered; their reſpective cuſtoms, manners, and religion, are all in oppoſition to each other; and their language is confounded with a foreign idiom. Hence ariſes a chaos, the end of which it is difficult to foretel; a chaos, which cannot be diſſipated, till after ſeveral centuries are elapſed; while the traces it leaves behind, are never to be entirely effaced, by a ſucceſſion of the moſt fortunate events.

Such is the picture of Portugal at the death of Sebaſtian, till the kingdom was gradually reduced under the dominion of Philip the Second. From this era, the Portugueſe in India ceaſed to conſider themſelves as of the ſame country. Some made themſelves independent; others turned pirates, and paid no reſpect to any flag. Many entered into the ſervice of the princes of the country; and theſe almoſt all became miniſters or generals, ſo great were the advantages this nation ſtill maintained over thoſe of India. No Portugueſe purſued any other object than the advancement of his own intereſt: there was no zeal, no union for the common good. Their poſſeſſions in India were divided into three governments, which gave no aſſiſtance to each other, and even claſhed in their projects and in-

BOOK I.

tereſts. Neither diſcipline, ſubordination, nor the love of glory, animated either the ſoldiers or the officers. Men of war no longer ventured out of the ports; or, whenever they appeared, were badly equipped. Manners became more and more depraved. Not one of their commanders had power enough to reſtrain the torrent of vice; and the majority of theſe commanders were themſelves corrupted. The Portugueſe, at length, loſt all their former greatneſs, when a free and enlightened nation, actuated with a proper ſpirit of toleration, appeared in India, and contended with them for the empire of that country.

Detail of the other cauſes that brought on the ruin of the Portugueſe in India.

It may be affirmed, that, at the time when Portugal firſt made its diſcoveries, the world was very little acquainted with the political principles of trade, the real power of different ſtates, the advantages of conqueſt, the manner of eſtabliſhing and preſerving colonies, and the benefits the mother-country might derive from them.

It was a wiſe project, to endeavour to find a paſſage by Africa to go to India, and to bring merchandiſe from thence. The benefits which the Venetians derived by leſs direct roads, had juſtly excited the emulation of the Portugueſe; but it was proper there ſhould be ſome limits to ſo laudable an ambition.

This ſmall nation becoming on a ſudden miſtreſs of the richeſt and moſt extenſive commerce of the globe, ſoon conſiſted of nothing elſe but merchants, factors, and ſailors, who were deſtroyed by long voyages. Thus the Portugueſe loſt the foundation of all real power, which conſiſts in agriculture, natural induſtry, and population; and there was, conſequently, no proportion between their commerce and the means of keeping it up.

They carried theſe deſtructive meaſures ſtill further; and, animated with the rage of conqueſt, extended themſelves over a vaſt tract of land, which no European nation would have been able to preſerve, without impairing its own ſtrength.

Thus this ſmall country, which of itſelf was not ve-

ry populous, conſtantly exhauſted itſelf in ſoldiers, ſailors, and inhabitants, ſent to ſupply the colonies.

The ſpirit of religious intoleration that prevailed among them, would not allow them to admit into the claſs of their own citizens the people of the Eaſt and of Africa; and they were, therefore, obliged to be perpetually at war with their new ſubjects.

As the government ſoon changed its ſchemes of trade into projects of conqueſt, the nation, which had never been guided by the true commercial ſpirit, ſoon aſſumed that of rapine and plunder.

Time-pieces, fire-arms, fine cloths, and other articles, which have been ſince carried into India, not being then brought to that degree of perfection they have lately acquired, the Portugueſe could not carry any thing there but money. They ſoon grew tired of this, and took away from the Indians by force what they had before obtained by purchaſe.

Then was to be ſeen throughout the kingdom of Portugal the utmoſt profuſion of riches, joined to the moſt extreme poverty. The only opulent perſons were thoſe who had had ſome employment in India; while the huſbandman, who found no one to aſſiſt him in his toil, and the artiſts, who were unable to procure workmen, being ſoon compelled to forego their ſeveral occupations, were reduced to the loweſt ſtate of miſery.

All theſe misfortunes had been foreſeen. When the diſcovery of India engaged the attention of Portugal, that court flattered itſelf that the mere appearance of its ſhips in that mild climate would enſure the poſſeſſion of it; that the trade of theſe countries would prove as inexhauſtible a ſource of riches to the nation, as it had been to thoſe people who had hitherto been maſters of it; and that, by the treaſure ariſing from it, the ſtate, notwithſtanding its ſmall extent of territory, would become equal in ſtrength and ſplendour to the moſt formidable powers. There were ſome perſons, however, who were not miſled by theſe deluſive hopes. The moſt penetrating and moderate of

BOOK I. the miniſters ventured to affirm, that the conſequence of running in ſearch of rich minerals and glittering merchandiſe, would be an inattention to objects of real advantage, agriculture, and manufactures; that wars, ſhipwrecks, epidemical diſeaſes, and other accidents, would weaken the whole empire beyond recovery; that the ſtate, thus carried out from its centre by the impulſe of an extravagant ambition, would either by force or art, attract the ſubjects to the moſt diſtant parts of Aſia; that even if the enterpriſe ſucceeded, it would raiſe a powerful confederacy, which it would be impoſſible for the crown of Portugal to defeat. Attempts were in vain made, ſome time after this, to convince theſe diſcerning men of their error, by ſhowing them that the Indians were ſubdued, the Moors repulſed, and the Turks defeated; and by exhibiting the tide of wealth that flowed into Portugal. Their opinions were too well-grounded in experience, to be ſhaken by the report of theſe flattering ſucceſſes. They ſtill inſiſted that a few years would diſcover the folly of puſhing theſe purſuits to extremity, and that they muſt inevitably lead to a corruption of morals, and end in ravages and univerſal confuſion. Time, the great arbiter of political matters, ſoon confirmed their predictions.

Preſent ſtate of the Portugueſe in India.

Of all the conqueſts which the Portugueſe had made in the ſeas of Aſia, they poſſeſs none at preſent but Macao, part of the iſland of Timor, Daman, Diu, and Goa. The connections which theſe wretched eſtabliſhments kept up with each other, and thoſe which they had with the reſt of India and with Portugal, were not maintained with any kind of ſpirit. They have been ſtill more contracted, ſince the eſtabliſhment at Goa of an excluſive company for China and the Moſambique.

At preſent, Macao ſends to Timor, to Siam, and to Cochinchina, ſome few ſmall veſſels of little value. It ſends five or ſix to Goa laden with merchandiſe that has been refuſed at Canton; and the greateſt part of which belongs to Chineſe merchants. Theſe laſt ſhips are laden, in return, with ſanders wood, Indian ſaffron,

ginger, pepper, linen, and indeed with all the materials that Goa has been able to collect on the coaſt of Malabar, or at Surat, with a ſixty gun ſhip, two frigates, and ſix ſloops, fitted out as ſloops of war. BOOK I.

It follows from this ſtate of inactivity, that the colony cannot ſend annually to Europe more than three or four cargoes, the value of which does not exceed 3,175,000 livres [132,291l. 13s. 4d], even ſince the year 1752, when this commerce was freed from the reſtraints of monopoly, except in the articles of ſugar, ſnuff, pepper, ſaltpetre, pearls, ſanders, and aloes wood, which the crown continues to buy up, and to ſell excluſively. The veſſels laden with theſe materials, uſed formerly to put in at Braſil, or in Africa, where they ſold part of their merchandiſe: but for ſome time paſt they have been obliged to return directly to the mother country.

Such is the declining ſtate into which the Portugueſe affairs in India are fallen, from that pinnacle of glory to which they had been raiſed by the bold adventurers who diſcovered, and the intrepid heroes who conquered, that country. The ſcene of their glory and opulence is become that of their ruin and diſgrace. Formerly, a deſpotic and cruel viceroy, and ſince the year 1774, a governor-general, with the ſame powers and diſpoſition; a turbulent and undiſciplined militia, conſiſting of ſix thouſand two hundred and ſeventy ſoldiers, blacks and others; magiſtrates of open and avowed venality; an unjuſt and rapacious adminiſtration: all theſe ſeveral kinds of oppreſſion, which would be ſufficient to annihilate the moſt virtuous of all people, cannot poſſibly regenerate an idle, degraded, and corrupt nation. Let the court of Liſbon at length open its eyes; and in a little time its flag, which has been ſo long forgotten, will reſume ſome ſhare of conſideration. Portugal can never expect to rank with the great commercial powers; but may quietly enſure its own riches. We ſhall now ſee, in the example of the Dutch, whoſe enterpriſes will be the next ſubject of our inquiry, what a ſmall nation can effect, when

BOOK I. its ſpeculations are directed by patience, reflection, and economy.

BOOK II.

The Settlements, Wars, Policy, and Trade of the Dutch in the Eaſt Indies.

BOOK II. THE republic of Holland, from its earlieſt riſe, exhibits a ſcene of grandeur to all nations; and muſt remain an object of the higheſt concern to us, and of curioſity to our remoteſt poſterity. It has diſtinguiſhed itſelf by its induſtry and enterpriſing ſpirit, in all parts; but more eſpecially on the ſeas, and on the continent of India. Before we attend the Dutch in their progreſs to theſe extenſive regions, let us trace their hiſtory to its earlieſt era. Such a retroſpect is peculiarly proper in a work of this nature, as it will comprehend at one glance, all thoſe characteriſtic marks by which the genius of a nation is diſtinguiſhed. It is neceſſary that a reader who reflects may be enabled to judge for himſelf, whether the original ſtate of this nation were ſuch as afforded a preſage of its future power; and whether the heroic aſſociates of Civilis, who defied the Roman power, transfuſed their ſpirit into thoſe brave republicans, who, under the auſpices of Naſſau, oppoſed the dark and odious tyranny of Philip the Second.

Ancient revolutions in Holland.

It is a fact eſtabliſhed by the beſt hiſtorical authority, that in the century preceding the Chriſtian era, the Battæ, diſſatisfied with their ſituation in Heſſe, ſettled upon the iſland formed by the Waal and the Rhine, in a marſhy ſoil, which had few or no inhabitants. They gave the name of Batavia to their new country. Their government was a mixture of monarchy, ariſtocracy, and democracy. Their chief was, properly ſpeaking, nothing more than a principal citizen, whoſe office was rather to adviſe than to command. The principal men who exerciſed juriſdiction, and com-

manded the troops in their reſpective diſtricts, were choſen, as well as the kings, in a general aſſembly. A hundred perſons, ſelected from among the people, preſided over every county, and acted as chiefs in the different hamlets. The whole nation was, in ſome ſort, an army always in readineſs. Each family compoſed a body of militia, which ſerved under a captain of its own chooſing.

Such was the ſtate of Batavia when Cæſar paſſed the Alps. This Roman general defeated the Helvetians, ſeveral tribes of the Gauls, the Belgæ and Germans, who had croſſed the Rhine, and extended his conqueſts beyond that river. In conſequence of this expedition, the boldneſs and ſucceſs of which were equally aſtoniſhing, the protection of the conqueror was courted on all ſides.

Some writers, too zealous for the honour of their country, affirm that the Batavians entered into an alliance with Rome: but the fact is, they ſubmitted, on condition that they ſhould be governed by their own laws, pay no tribute, and be obliged only to perform military ſervices.

Cæſar ſoon diſtinguiſhed the Batavians from the other nations that were ſubdued by the Romans. This conqueror of the Gauls, when, by Pompey's influence, he was recalled to Rome, and refuſed to obey the ſenate's orders; when relying on the abſolute authority which his conduct had at length given him over the legions and auxiliaries, he attacked his enemies in Spain, Italy, and Aſia: then it was, that, ſenſible of the Batavians having a principal ſhare in his victories, he gave them the glorious appellation of *the friends and brethren of the Roman people.*

After this, irritated by the unjuſt proceedings of certain governors, they obeyed the dictates of that noble impulſe, ſo becoming men of ſpirit who are prompted to take arms to revenge an inſult. They ſhowed themſelves enemies as formidable as they had been faithful allies: but theſe troubles ſubſided, and the Batavians were pacified, though not ſubdued.

BOOK II.

When Rome, after having riſen to a pitch of greatneſs unknown before, and which has never ſince been equalled by any ſtate, no longer retained thoſe manly virtues and auſtere principles which had laid the foundation of her glory; when her laws had loſt their force, her armies their diſcipline, and her citizens the love of their country; the barbarians, who, by the terror of the Roman name, had been driven back to the north, where they had been compelled to remain, poured like a torrent into the ſouthern countries. The empire was torn in pieces, and the fineſt provinces became a prey to thoſe people whom the Romans had always either degraded or oppreſſed. The Franks, in particular, ſeized upon the countries belonging to the Gauls, and Batavia, a part of that extenſive and famous kingdom, which was founded by theſe conquerors in the fifth century.

The new monarchy experienced thoſe inconveniences which are almoſt inſeparable from riſing ſtates, and are indeed too frequently felt in the beſt eſtabliſhed governments. It was ſometimes under the dominion of a ſingle perſon, and at others was ſubject to the caprice of a number of tyrants. It was conſtantly engaged either in foreign wars, or expoſed to the rage of inteſtine diſſentions. Sometimes it made the neighbouring ſtates tremble for their ſafety, but much more frequently ſuffered from the incurſions of the northern people, who ravaged its provinces. It was equally the victim of the weakneſs of ſeveral of its princes, and of the unbounded ambition of their favourites and miniſters. The overbearing ſpirit of the pontiffs undermined the power of the throne, and their inſolence brought both the laws and religion into diſgrace. Anarchy and tyranny followed each other ſo cloſe, that even the moſt ſanguine perſons deſpaired of ſeeing better times. The glorious era of Charlemagne's government was only a tranſient gleam of light. As his great actions were the effect of his genius, and not in the leaſt owing to the influence of any good inſtitutions; after his death, affairs returned to

that ſtate of confuſion from which they had been retrieved by his father Pepin, and more particularly by his own endeavours. The French monarchy, the limits of which he had extended too far, was divided. One of his grandſons, to whom Germany was allotted, obtained alſo Batavia, to which the Normans in their excurſions had lately given the name of Holland.

In the beginning of the tenth century, the German branch of the Carlovinians became extinct. The other princes of France having neither the courage nor power to aſſert their rights, the Germans eaſily diſengaged themſelves from a foreign yoke. Thoſe of the nation, who, by virtue of a delegated power from the monarch, governed the five circles, of which the ſtate was compoſed, choſe a chief out of their own body. This chief, fearing leſt theſe powerful men might be tempted to throw off their dependence, if any ſeverer conditions were required of them, contented himſelf with their fidelity and homage, and exacted only ſuch ſervices as they were compelled to by the feudal laws.

At this memorable juncture, the counts of Holland, who, as well as the reſt of the provincial chiefs, had hitherto exerciſed a precarious and dependent authority, obtained the ſame rights as the other great vaſſals of Germany: and as they afterwards enlarged their territories by conqueſt, marriages, and grants from the emperors, they in time became totally independent of the empire. They were not equally ſucceſsful in their unjuſt attempts againſt the public liberty. Their ſubjects were not to be intimidated by force, ſeduced by flattery, or corrupted by profuſion. War and peace, taxes, laws, and treaties, were managed by the three united powers of the count, the nobles, and the towns. The republican ſpirit ſtill prevailed in the nation, when, by ſome extraordinary events, it fell under the dominion of the houſe of Burgundy, the power of which, though before conſiderable, was greatly ſtrengthened by this union.

Thoſe who had the ſagacity to inveſtigate probabilities, foreſaw, that this ſtate, which was formed as it

BOOK II.

were by the gradual accretion of many others, would one day be of great weight in the political ſyſtem of Europe. The genius of its inhabitants, its advantageous ſituation, and its real ſtrength, afforded a moſt certain proſpect of its future greatneſs. Theſe projects and expectations, which were juſt upon the point of being fulfilled, were diſappointed by an event, which, though it happens every day, never fails to baffle the deſigns of ambition. The male line in that houſe became extinct; and Mary, who was ſole heireſs to its dominions, by her marriage in 1477, transferred to the houſe of Auſtria the advantages that had been gained by ſeveral ſucceſsful ſtruggles, a variety of intrigues, and ſome acts of injuſtice.

At this era, ſo famous in hiſtory, each of the ſeventeen provinces of the Low Countries had particular laws, extenſive privileges, and almoſt a diſtinct government of its own. The excellent principle of union, which equally contributes to the welfare and ſecurity both of empires and republics, was univerſally diſregarded. The people having been, from time immemorial, accuſtomed to this ſtate of confuſion, had no idea that it was poſſible to enjoy a more rational form of adminiſtration. This prejudice was of ſo long a ſtanding, ſo generally adopted, and ſo firmly eſtabliſhed, that Maximilian, Philip, and Charles, the three Auſtrian princes who firſt inherited the dominions of the houſe of Burgundy, thought it prudent not to attempt any innovation. They flattered themſelves that ſome happier conjuncture might enable their ſucceſſors to execute with ſafety a plan which they could not even attempt without danger.

Riſe of the republic of Holland.

At this time a great change was preparing in the minds of men in Europe. The revival of letters, the extenſion of commerce, the invention of printing, and the diſcovery of the compaſs, brought on the era when human reaſon was to ſhake off the yoke of ſome of thoſe prejudices which had gained ground in the barbarous ages.

The intelligent part of the world were for the moſt

part cured of the Romiſh ſuperſtitions. They were diſguſted at the abuſe the popes made of their authority; the contributions they raiſed upon the people; the ſale of indulgences; and more particularly at thoſe abſurd refinements with which they had diſguiſed the plain religion of Jeſus Chriſt.

But theſe diſcerning people were not the firſt who attempted a revolution. This honour was reſerved for a turbulent monk, whoſe barbarous eloquence rouſed the northern nations. The moſt enlightened men of the age contributed to undeceive the reſt. Some of the European princes embraced the reformed religion; others held communion with the church of Rome. The former found no difficulty in bringing over their ſubjects to their opinions; while the latter had much difficulty to prevent theirs from embracing the new doctrines. They had recourſe to a variety of meaſures, which were too often purſued with rigour; and the ſpirit of fanaticiſm, which had deſtroyed the Saxons, the Albigenſes, and the Huſſites, was revived. Gibbets were erected, and fires kindled again, to check the progreſs of the new doctrine.

No ſovereign was ſo ready to make uſe of theſe expedients as Philip II. His tyranny was felt in every part of his extenſive monarchy; fanaticiſm prompted him to perſecute thoſe who fell under the denomination of heretics or infidels. The Low Countries were more particularly the ſeat of theſe cruelties; and millions of citizens were condemned to the ſcaffold. The people revolted; and the ſame ſcene was renewed which the Venetians had diſplayed to the world many centuries before, when flying from oppreſſion, and, finding no retreat upon land, they ſought an aſylum upon the waters. Seven ſmall provinces, lying on the northern ſide of Brabant and Flanders, which were rather overflowed than watered by large rivers, and often covered by the ſea, the violence of which was with difficulty reſtrained by dikes; having no wealth but ſuch as aroſe from a few paſture lands, and a little fiſhing; formed one of the richeſt and moſt powerful

BOOK II.

republics in the world; which may, perhaps, be alſo conſidered as the model of commercial ſtates. The firſt efforts of this united people had not the deſired ſucceſs; but, though they were frequently defeated, victory at length declared itſelf for them. The Spaniſh troops they had to encounter, were the beſt in Europe, and at firſt gained ſeveral advantages. But by degrees the new republicans recovered their loſſes. They reſiſted with firmneſs; and, gaining experience from their own miſcarriages, as well as from the example of their enemies, they at length became their ſuperiors in the art of war: and the neceſſity they lay under of diſputing every inch of ground in ſo confined a country as Holland, gave them opportunities of improving the art of fortifying a country or a town in the beſt manner.

The weak ſtate of Holland, at its firſt riſe, obliged it to ſeek for arms and aſſiſtance from every quarter where there was any proſpect of obtaining them. It granted an aſylum to pirates of all nations, with a view of employing them againſt the Spaniards; and this was the foundation of its naval ſtrength. Wiſe laws, an admirable regularity, a conſtitution which preſerved equality among mankind, an excellent police, and a ſpirit of toleration, ſoon erected this republic into a powerful ſtate. In the year 1590, the Hollanders more than once humbled the pride of the Spaniſh flag. They had already eſtabliſhed a kind of trade, the moſt ſuitable that could be to their ſituation. Their veſſels were employed, as they are ſtill, in carrying the merchandiſe of one nation to another. The Hanſe Towns, and ſome towns in Italy, were in poſſeſſion of this carrying trade: and the Hollanders, in competition with them, by their frugality ſoon gained the advantage. Their ſhips of war protected their merchantmen. Their merchants grew ambitious of extending their commerce, and got the trade of Liſbon into their hands, where they purchaſed Indian goods, which they ſold again to all the ſtates of Europe.

Philip II. having made himſelf maſter of Portugal, forbade his new ſubjects, in 1594, to hold any correſpondence with his enemies. This arbitrary prince did not foreſee that this prohibition, which he thought muſt weaken the Hollanders, would in fact render them more formidable. Had not theſe diſcerning navigators been excluded from a port, upon which the whole ſucceſs of their naval enterpriſes depended, there is reaſon to believe that they would have contented themſelves with the large commerce they carried on in the European ſeas, without thinking of ſailing to remoter climates. But as it was impoſſible to preſerve their trade without the productions of the Eaſt, they were forced to go beyond a ſphere which was, perhaps, too confined for a ſituation like theirs, and reſolved to ſeek theſe riches at the fountain head.

The firſt voyages of the Hollanders to India.

It appeared to be the beſt plan to fit out ſhips, and ſend them to India: but the Hollanders wanted pilots who were acquainted with the ſeas, and factors who underſtood the commerce of Aſia. They were alarmed at the danger of making long voyages, where the enemy was maſter of the coaſts, and of having their veſſels intercepted during a paſſage of ſix thouſand leagues. It was judged more adviſable to attempt the diſcovery of a paſſage to China and Japan through the northern ſeas, which would be a ſhorter, as well as a more ſafe voyage. The Engliſh had made the attempt in vain; and the Hollanders renewed it with no better ſucceſs.

While they were engaged in this enterpriſe, Cornelius Houtman, a merchant of that nation, a man of ſagacity and of a daring ſpirit, being detained at Liſbon for debt, gave the merchants at Amſterdam to underſtand, that, if they would procure his enlargement, he would communicate to them many diſcoveries he had made, which might turn to their advantage. He had, in fact, informed himſelf of every particular relating to the paſſage to India, and the manner of carrying on trade in thoſe parts. His propoſals were accepted, and his debts diſcharged. The information he gave

BOOK II. proving anſwerable to the expectations he had raiſed, thoſe who had releaſed him from his confinement formed an aſſociation under the name of the Company of diſtant Countries, and in the year 1595 gave him the command of four veſſels, to conduct to India by the Cape of Good Hope.

The principal object of this voyage was to obſerve the coaſts, the inhabitants, and the trade of different places, keeping clear, as much as poſſible, of the Portugueſe ſettlements. Houtman reconnoitred the coaſts of Africa and Brazil; made ſome ſtay at Madagaſcar, touched at the Maldives, and viſited the iſlands of Sunda: where, finding the country abounding in pepper, he bought a quantity of it, together with ſome others of the moſt valuable ſpices. His prudence procured him an alliance with the principal ſovereign of Java; but the Portugueſe, notwithſtanding they were hated, and had no ſettlement upon the iſland, created him ſome enemies. Having got the better in ſome ſkirmiſhes he was unavoidably engaged in, he returned with his ſmall ſquadron to Holland; where, though he brought little wealth, he raiſed much expectation. He brought back along with him ſome negroes, Chineſe, and inhabitants of Malabar, a young native of Malacca, a Japaneſe, and Abdul, a pilot of the Guzarat, a man of great abilities, and perfectly well acquainted with the coaſt of India.

The account given by Houtman, and the diſcoveries made in the courſe of the voyage, encouraged the merchants of Amſterdam to form the plan of a ſettlement at Java; which, at the ſame time that it would throw the trade of pepper into their hands, place them near the iſlands that produce more valuable ſpices, and facilitate their communication with China and Japan, would fix them at a diſtance from the centre of that European power, which they had the moſt reaſon to dread in India. Van Neck, who, in 1598, was ſent upon this important expedition with eight veſſels, arrived at the iſland of Java, where he found the inhabitants unfavourably diſpoſed towards

his nation. They fought and negotiated by turns. Abdul the pilot, the Chineſe, and, above all, the hatred that prevailed againſt the Portugueſe, proved of ſervice to the Dutch. They were permitted to trade, and, in a ſhort time, fitted out four veſſels, laden with a quantity of ſpices, and ſome linens. The admiral, with the reſt of his fleet, ſailed to the Moluccas, where he learnt that the natives of the country had forced the Portugueſe to abandon ſome places, and that they only waited for a favourable opportunity of expelling them from the reſt. He eſtabliſhed factories in ſeveral of theſe iſlands, entered into a treaty with ſome of the ſovereigns, and returned to Europe loaded with riches. BOOK II.

It is impoſſible to deſcribe the joy that prevailed at his return. The ſucceſs of his voyage raiſed a freſh emulation. Societies were formed in moſt of the maritime and trading towns in the Low Countries. Theſe aſſociations ſoon became ſo numerous, that they proved detrimental to each other; for the rage of purchaſing raiſed the value of commodities to an exorbitant degree in India; and the neceſſity of ſelling them made them bear a low price in Europe. They were on the point of being ruined by their own efforts, and by the want of power in each of them to reſiſt a formidable enemy, fully bent upon their deſtruction, when the government, which is ſometimes wiſer than individuals, opportunely ſtepped in to their aſſiſtance.

Eſtabliſhment of the India Company.

In 1602, the ſtates-general united theſe different ſocieties into one body, to which they gave the name of the Eaſt India Company. It was inveſted with authority to make peace or war with the eaſtern princes, to erect forts, chooſe its own governors, maintain garriſons, and nominate officers for the conduct of the police, and the adminiſtration of juſtice.

This company, which had no parallel in antiquity, and was the pattern of all ſucceeding ſocieties of the ſame kind, began with great advantages. The private aſſociations which had been previouſly formed, proved of ſervice to it by their misfortunes, and even by their miſtakes. The great number of veſſels which they fit-

BOOK II.

ted out had contributed to make all the branches of trade perfectly underſtood; to form many officers and ſeamen; and to encourage citizens of repute to undertake theſe foreign expeditions; perſons only of no eſtimation or fortune having been expoſed in the firſt voyages.

So many united aſſiſtances could not fail of being improved to advantage when proſecuted with vigour; and, accordingly, the new company ſoon acquired a conſiderable degree of power. It was a new ſtate, erected within the ſtate itſelf, which enriched it, and increaſed its ſtrength abroad; but might, in time, weaken the influence of the democratical principle, which inſpires the love of equality and economy, of the laws, and of one's own countrymen.

Soon after its eſtabliſhment, the Company fitted out for India fourteen ſhips and ſome yachts, under the command of Admiral Warwick, whom the Hollanders look upon as the founder of their commerce, and of their powerful colonies in the Eaſt. He built a factory in the iſland of Java, and ſecured it by fortifications; he likewiſe built another in the territories of the king of Johor; and formed alliances with ſeveral princes in Bengal. He had frequent engagements with the Portugueſe, in which he had almoſt always the advantage. In thoſe parts where the Portugueſe had appeared in the character of merchants only, he found it neceſſary to remove the prejudices they had raiſed againſt his countrymen, whom they had repreſented as a ſet of banditti, avowed enemies to all regal authority, and addicted to every kind of vice. The behaviour of the Hollanders and the Portugueſe ſoon convinced the people of Aſia which of theſe nations had the advantage over the other in point of morality. A bloody war ſoon enſued between theſe two powers.

How great muſt have been the aſtoniſhment of the Indians at the ſight of theſe conteſts? What joy muſt have filled their hearts, when they ſaw their tyrants mutually bent upon each other's deſtruction? With what tranſports of gratitude muſt they not have bleſ-

ſed that Providence, that was avenging the evils they had ſuſtained? And how far muſt not their hopes have been carried, while the blood that was ſpilt on each ſide of them, was either that of an oppreſſor, or of an enemy?

Wars between the Hollanders and Portugueſe.

The Portugueſe had on their ſide the advantage of a thorough knowledge of theſe ſeas; they were accuſtomed to the climate, and had the aſſiſtance of ſeveral nations, which, though they hated them, were compelled through fear to fight for their tyrants. The Hollanders were animated by the urgent ſenſe of their neceſſities; by the hopes of procuring an abſolute and laſting independency, which was ſtill diſputed with them; by the ambition of eſtabliſhing a vaſt commerce upon the ruins of that of their old maſters; and by a hatred which a difference in religious opinions had rendered implacable. Theſe paſſions, at the ſame time that they inſpired all the activity, ſtrength, and perſeverance neceſſary for the execution of their great deſigns, did not prevent them from taking their meaſures with precaution. Their humanity and honeſty attached the people to their cauſe; and many of them ſoon declared againſt their ancient oppreſſors.

The Hollanders were continually ſending over freſh coloniſts, ſhips, and troops, while the Portugueſe were left without any forces but their own. Spain did not ſend them any fleets of merchantmen, or grant them the protection of the ſquadron which had hitherto been kept in India; ſhe neither repaired their places of ſtrength, nor renewed their garriſons. It ſhould ſeem that ſhe wanted to humble her new ſubjects, whom ſhe thought not ſo ſubmiſſive as might be wiſhed, and to perpetuate her authority by expoſing them to repeated misfortunes. She proceeded ſtill further; and to prevent Portugal from having any reſources in itſelf, ſhe ſeized upon its inhabitants, and ſent them to Italy, Flanders, and other countries where ſhe was at war.

Notwithſtanding this, the ſcale continued even for a long time, and the ſucceſs was various on both ſides.

BOOK II. Nor is this in the leaſt ſurpriſing. The Portugueſe, on their arrival in India, had nothing to encounter at ſea but a few weak veſſels, ill built, ill armed, and ill defended; nothing by land but effeminate men, voluptuous princes, and daſtardly ſlaves: whereas, thoſe who came to wreſt the ſceptre of Aſia out of their hands, had veſſels to board of the ſame conſtruction as their own; regular fortreſſes to aſſault, and Europeans to conquer and ſubdue, who were grown haughty by a long ſeries of victories, and by being the founders of an immenſe empire.

The time was now come, when the Portugueſe were to expiate their perfidy, their robberies, and their cruelties: and the prediction of one of the kings of Perſia was fulfilled, who aſking an ambaſſador juſt arrived at Goa, how many governors his maſter had beheaded ſince the eſtabliſhment of his power in India? received for anſwer, *None at all. So much the worſe*, replied the monarch; *his authority cannot be of long duration in a country where ſo many acts of outrage and barbarity are committed.*

It does not however appear, in the courſe of this war, that the Hollanders poſſeſſed that daring raſhneſs, that unſhaken intrepidity, which had marked the enterpriſes of the Portugueſe; but there was a conſiſtency and an unremitting perſeverance obſervable in all their deſigns. Often repulſed, but never diſcouraged, they renewed their attacks with freſh forces, and with better concerted meaſures. They never expoſed themſelves to the hazard of a total defeat. If, in any engagement, their ſhips had ſuffered, they retreated; and as their conſtant object was never to loſe ſight of their commercial intereſt, the vanquiſhed fleet, while it was repairing on the coaſts belonging to ſome of the Indian princes, purchaſed merchandiſe there, and returned to Holland. By this method the Company acquired a new fund, which enabled them to undertake freſh enterpriſes. If the Hollanders did not always perform great actions, they never attempted uſeleſs ones. They had neither the pride nor the vain-glory of the Portu-

gueſe, who had frequently engaged in war, rather perhaps through the love of fame than of power. The Hollanders ſteadily purſued their firſt plan, without ſuffering themſelves to be diverted from it either by motives of revenge, or ruinous projects of conqueſt.

In the year 1601 they endeavoured, and in 1607 they renewed the attempt, to open a communication with the ports belonging to the vaſt empire of China, which at that time was cautious of admitting ſtrangers. The Portugueſe found means, by bribery and the intrigues of their miſſionaries, to get the Hollanders excluded. They reſolved to extort, by force, what they could not obtain by treaty, and determined to intercept the veſſels belonging to the Chineſe. This piratical proceeding did not anſwer their expectations. A Portugueſe fleet ſailed from Macao to attack the pirates who thought proper to retire. The inequality of their numbers, the impoſſibility of refitting in ſeas where they had no ſhelter, and the fear of diſgracing their nation in the eyes of a great empire, whoſe good opinion it was their intereſt to preſerve; all theſe conſiderations determined them to decline the fight: but this was only for a ſhort time.

Some years after, the Hollanders laid ſiege to a place, of the importance of which they had gained information. The enterpriſe did not ſucceed; but as they never loſt any advantage that could be obtained by their armaments, they ſent that which they had employed againſt Macao to form a colony in the Piſcadore Iſles. Theſe are rocks where no water is to be had in dry ſeaſons, and no proviſions at any time. Theſe inconveniences were not counterbalanced by any ſolid advantages, becauſe the people of the neighbouring continent were forbidden, on the ſevereſt penalties, to hold any correſpondence with ſtrangers who might become dangerous ſo near the coaſts. The Hollanders had determined to abandon a ſettlement which they deſpaired of making uſeful, when, in the year 1624, they were invited to fix at Formoſa, and had aſſurances given them that the Chineſe merchants

BOOK II. would be allowed full liberty to go there and trade with them.

The Hollanders form a settlement at Formoſa.

This iſland, though it lies oppoſite to the province of Fokien, at the diſtance of only thirty leagues from the coaſt, was not ſubject to the dominion of the Chineſe, whoſe genius does not incline them to conqueſt, and who, through a humane and ill-judged policy, would rather ſuffer a decreaſe of population, than tranſplant their ſupernumerary ſubjects to the neighbouring countries. Formoſa was found to be a hundred and thirty or forty leagues in circumference. Its inhabitants, to judge from their manners and appearance, ſeemed to be deſcended from the Tartars in the moſt northern part of Aſia: and probably found their way through the country of Corea. They lived chiefly by fiſhing and hunting, and ſcarce wore any covering.

The Hollanders, having, without difficulty, informed themſelves of every particular that prudence ſuggeſted, thought it moſt adviſable to fix their ſettlement on a ſmall iſland that lay contiguous to the larger one. This ſituation afforded them three conſiderable advantages; an eaſy defence, if hatred or jealouſy ſhould incline their neighbours to moleſt them; the convenience of a harbour formed by the two iſlands; and the facility of maintaining a ſafe communication with China during the monſoons: advantages which they could not have found in any other poſition they might have choſen.

The new colony inſenſibly gained ſtrength without attracting any notice, till it roſe at once to a degree of conſequence that aſtoniſhed all Aſia. This unexpected proſperity was owing to the conqueſt of China by the Tartars. Thus it is that torrents enrich the vallies with the ſtores they carry down from the deſolated mountains. Above a hundred thouſand Chineſe, who reſolved not to ſubmit to the conqueror, fled for refuge to Formoſa. They brought along with them that induſtry which is peculiar to their character, the manner of cultivating rice and ſugar, and attracted an

infinite number of veſſels from their own nation. In a ſhort time the iſland became the centre of all the correſpondence that was carried on between Java, Siam, the Philippine Iſlands, China, Japan, and other countries; and in a few years was conſidered as the moſt conſiderable mart in India. The Hollanders flattered themſelves with the proſpect of ſtill greater advantages, when fortune deceived their expectations.

A Chineſe, named Equam, of obſcure birth, whoſe turbulent diſpoſition had made him turn pirate, had attained, by the ſuperiority of his talents, to the rank of high-admiral. He defended his country againſt the Tartars for a conſiderable time, but ſeeing his maſter obliged to ſubmit, he endeavoured to make terms for himſelf with the conquerors. He was decoyed to Pekin, where he was ſeized, and condemned by the uſurper to perpetual impriſonment, in which he is ſuppoſed to have died of poiſon. Coxinga ſaved himſelf on board his father's fleet, vowed eternal enmity to the oppreſſors of his family and country, and concluded that he ſhould be able to take the ſevereſt revenge upon them, by making himſelf maſter of Formoſa. He made a deſcent upon it, and the miniſter Hambroeck was taken priſoner in the attack.

Hambroeck, being appointed with ſome other priſoners to be ſent to the fort of Zealand to prevail with his countrymen to capitulate, called to mind the example of Regulus; he exhorted them to be firm, and uſed every argument to perſuade them, that if they ſtrenuouſly perſevered, they would oblige the enemy to retire. The garriſon being aware that this generous man would, on his return to the camp, fall a ſacrifice to his magnanimity, uſed their utmoſt efforts to detain him. Their remonſtrances were ſeconded by the tendereſt ſolicitations of two of his daughters, who were in the citadel. His anſwer was, *I have pledged my honour to return to my confinement: I hold myſelf obliged to perform my promiſe. My memory ſhall never be ſullied with the reproach, that, out of regard to my own ſafety, I was the cauſe of ſeverer treatment, or perhaps*

BOOK II. *of death, to the companions of my misfortune.* After this heroic ſpeech, he calmly returned to the Chineſe camp, and the ſiege began.

Notwithſtanding the fortifications were in a bad condition, and the fort ill-ſtored with ammunition and proviſions; notwithſtanding the garriſon was weak, and the ſuccours ſent to attack the enemy had retreated with diſgrace, Coyet the governor made an obſtinate defence. In the beginning of the year 1662, being forced to capitulate, he repaired to Batavia, where his ſuperiors had recourſe to thoſe iniquitous ſtate intrigues which are frequently practiſed in all governments. They degraded him, in order to prevent any ſuſpicion that the loſs of ſo important a ſettlement had been owing to their own folly or negligence. The attempts made to recover it proved unſucceſsful; and the Hollanders were at laſt reduced to the neceſſity of carrying on a trade with Canton on the ſame conditions, and under the ſame reſtrictions as other nations.

It may appear ſomewhat ſingular, that ſince the year 1683, when Formoſa fell under the dominion of China, no Europeans have ever attempted to form any ſettlement there, upon the ſame conditions at leaſt, as that of the Portugueſe at Macao. But beſides that the ſuſpicious temper of the nation to which that iſland belongs, gives no room to expect ſuch an indulgence from them, one may venture to pronounce that ſuch an enterpriſe would be a bad one. Formoſa was a place of importance only ſo long as the Japaneſe had a communication with it, and ſo long as its produce was allowed a free importation into Japan.

Trade of the Hollanders to Japan.

This empire of Japan had given refuge in the year 1600 to ſome Hollanders who had been ſhipwrecked on the iſland of Bango: but it was not till 1609, that it received ſome ſhips of the Dutch Eaſt India Company.

About a century before this, the government of Japan had been changed. A magnanimous people had been made furious by a tyrant. Taycoſama, who from a ſoldier became a general, and from a general

an emperor, had uſurped the whole power, and aboliſhed all the rights of the people. Having ſtripped the Dairo of the little remains of his authority, he had reduced all the petty princes of the country under his ſubjection. Tyranny is arrived at its height, when it eſtabliſhes deſpotiſm by law. Taycoſama went ſtill further, and confirmed it by ſanguinary laws. His civil legiſlation was actually a code of criminal proſecutions, exhibiting nothing but ſcaffolds, puniſhments, criminals, and executioners.

The Japaneſe, alarmed at this proſpect of ſlavery, had recourſe to arms. Torrents of blood were ſhed throughout the empire: and though liberty might be ſuppoſed to be ſuperior in courage to tyranny, the latter triumphed over it, and became ſtill more ferocious, when animated by the ſpirit of revenge. An inquiſition, public as well as private, diſmayed the citizens: they became ſpies, informers, accuſers, and enemies to each other. An error in the adminiſtration of the police, was conſtrued into a crime againſt the ſtate; and an unguarded expreſſion was made high-treaſon. Proſecution aſſumed the character of legiſlation. Three ſucceſſive generations were doomed to welter in their own blood; and rebel parents gave birth to a proſcribed poſterity.

During a whole century, Japan reſembled a dungeon filled with criminals, or a place of execution. The throne, which was raiſed upon the ruins of the altar, was ſurrounded with gibbets. The ſubjects were become as cruel as their tyrant. They ſought, with a ſtrange avidity, to procure death, by committing crimes which were readily ſuggeſted, under a deſpotic government. For want of executioners, they puniſhed themſelves for the loſs of liberty, or revenged themſelves of tyranny, by putting an end to their own exiſtence. To enable them to face death, and to aſſiſt them in ſuffering it, they derived new courage from that ſyſtem of Chriſtianity which the Portugueſe had introduced among them.

The oppreſſions the Japaneſe laboured under, af-

BOOK II. forded an opportunity for the profeſſors of this new worſhip to make numerous proſelytes. The miſſionaries who preached a ſuffering religion, were liſtened to with attention. In vain did the doctrine of Confucius try to gain reception among a people who bordered upon China. This doctrine was too ſimple and too rational for iſlanders, whoſe imagination, naturally reſtleſs, was ſtill more heated by the cruelties of the government. Some erroneous tenets of Chriſtianity, which bore a conſiderable affinity to thoſe of the Budzoiſts, and the penances equally enjoined by the two ſyſtems, procured the Portugueſe miſſionaries ſeveral proſelytes. But, ſetting aſide this reſemblance, the Japaneſe would have choſen to embrace Chriſtianity, merely from a motive of hatred to the prince.

If the new religion was diſcountenanced at court, it could not fail to meet with a favourable reception in the families of the dethroned princes. It added freſh fuel to their reſentment: they were fond of a ſtrange God whom the tyrant did not love. Taycoſama ruled with a rod of iron, and perſecuted the Chriſtians as enemies to the ſtate. He proſcribed the doctrines imported from Europe, and this proſcription made them ſtrike the deeper root. Piles were kindled, and millions of victims threw themſelves into the flames. The emperors of Japan tranſcended thoſe of Rome, in the art of perſecuting the Chriſtians. During the ſpace of forty years, the ſcaffolds were ſtained with the innocent blood of martyrs. This proved the ſeed of Chriſtianity, and, at the ſame time, of ſedition. Near forty thouſand Chriſtians, in the kingdom or province of Arima, took up arms, in the name, and for the name of Chriſt; and defended themſelves with ſuch fury, that not a ſingle perſon ſurvived the ſlaughter occaſioned by perſecution.

The navigation, trade, and factories of the Portugueſe had ſuſtained themſelves during this great criſis. The government and the people had, however, for a long time, been diſſatisfied with them: they had incurred the ſuſpicion of adminiſtration, by their ambi-

ſion, by their intrigues, and, perhaps, by their ſecret conſpiracies; and had rendered themſelves odious to the people, by their avarice, their pride, and their treachery. But as the habit of purchaſing the mercantile articles they brought, was now become general, and that theſe goods could not be obtained through any other channel, they were not excluded from Japan till the end of the year 1638, when other merchants were in a ſituation to ſupply their place. BOOK II.

The Hollanders, who had for ſome time entered into competition with them, were not involved in the diſgrace. As theſe republicans had never ſhown themſelves ambitious of interfering with the government; as they had ſuffered their artillery to be employed againſt the Chriſtians; as they were at war with the proſcribed nations; as their ſtrength was not thoroughly known, and they appeared to be reſerved, pliant, modeſt, and entirely devoted to commerce; they were tolerated; though, at the ſame time, they were ſubjected to great reſtraints. Three years after, whether it were that they became actuated by the ſpirit of intrigue and dominion, or, which is more probable, that no conduct whatever could prevent the Japaneſe from harbouring ſuſpicions, they were deprived of the liberty and the privileges they enjoyed.

Ever ſince the year 1641, they have been confined to the artificial iſland of Diſnia, raiſed in the harbour of Nangaſaque, and which has a communication with the city bridge. As ſoon as they arrive, their ſhips are ſtripped, and their powder, muſkets, ſwords, guns, and even rudder, carried aſhore. In this kind of impriſonment, they are treated with a degree of contempt which is beyond conception; and can tranſact no buſineſs, but with commiſſaries appointed to regulate the price and the quantity of their merchandiſe. It is impoſſible, that the tameneſs with which they have endured this treatment more than a century, ſhould not have leſſened them in the eyes of a nation that is witneſs of it; and that the love of gain ſhould

BOOK II.

have produced ſuch an extreme inſenſibility to inſults, without tarniſhing their character.

European cloths, ſilks, printed linens, ſugar, woods for dying, and ſome ſpices, chiefly pepper and cloves, are the articles carried to Japan. The ordinary returns were very conſiderable at the time that an indefinite liberty of trade was allowed. When it was ſubjected to reſtrictions, no more than three ſhips were annually fitted out for Batavia, and theſe were ſoon reduced to two. Since the laſt twelve years, there are even but one or two trifling cargoes ſent alternately, whether it be, that the buyer has inſiſted upon this diminution, or whether the ſeller may have been led to it by the little benefit ariſing from this commerce. According to regulations made, all the articles together do not produce more than one million one hundred thouſand livres [45,833l. 6s. 8d.]; but although theſe regulations may not poſſibly be put rigorouſly in force, ſtill it is affirmed, that the profit does not exceed fifty thouſand livres [2083l. 6s. 8d.]. It would be more conſiderable, if the Dutch were not obliged to ſend annually to the capital of the empire, an ambaſſador loaded with preſents. The payments are made with the beſt ſort of copper in the world, which is conſumed in Bengal, on the coaſt of Coromandel, and at Surat: they are alſo made with camphire, which is uſed in Europe, after it has been purified at Amſterdam.

The agents of the Company are more fortunate than the Company they ſerve. By a kind of hoſpitality peculiar to Japan, courteſans are given to them immediately on their arrival, whom they may keep till they go away again. Theſe girls are not only devoted to their pleaſures, but alſo contribute to make their fortunes; ſince it is through their means, that the tortoiſe-ſhell, of which the Japaneſe fabricate their moſt eſteemed jewels, is introduced into the country; as likewiſe the camphire of Sumatra, which being naturally perfect enough not to ſtand in need of the ope-

ration of fire, is thought worthy to be employed as incenſe.

They receive in exchange a very pure kind of gold, which, as well as the merchandiſe, paſſes through the hands of their miſtreſſes, whoſe ſkill and probity in this double negotiation are equally atteſted.

The trade of the Chineſe, who, except the Hollanders, are the only foreigners admitted into the empire, is not more extenſive than theirs, and ſubjected to the ſame reſtrictions. Ever ſince the year 1688, they are confined during the continuance of the ſale of their goods, without the walls of Nangaſaque, in a kind of priſon, which is divided into ſeveral huts, ſurrounded with a paliſade, and defended by a good ditch, and a guard placed at every avenue. Theſe precautions have been taken, in conſequence of a diſcovery, that ſome works in favour of Chriſtianity had been ſold, together with books of philoſophy and morality. The European miſſionaries had ordered ſome people of Canton to circulate them; and the deſire of gain betrayed them into a piece of chicanery, which has been ſeverely puniſhed.

It is natural to ſuppoſe, that thoſe who have changed the ancient government of the country into the moſt arbitrary tyranny upon earth, would look upon all intercourſe with ſtrangers as dangerous to their authority. There is the more reaſon for this conjecture, as the inhabitants are all forbidden, on pain of death, to go out of their country. This rigorous edict is become the fundamental maxim of the empire.

Thus the inhuman policy of the ſtate has deprived it of the only means of acquiring a milder temper, by ſoftening the national character. The Japaneſe, fiery as his climate, and reſtleſs as the ocean that ſurrounds him, required, that the utmoſt ſcope ſhould be given to his activity, which could only be done by encouraging a briſk trade. To prevent the neceſſity of reſtraining him by puniſhments, it was requiſite to keep him in exerciſe by conſtant labour, and to allow his vivacity an uninterrupted career abroad, when it was

BOOK II.

in danger of kindling the flame of ſedition at home. That energy of mind which has degenerated into fanaticiſm, would have been improved into induſtry; contemplation would have changed into action; and the fear of puniſhment into the love of pleaſure. That hatred of life which torments the Japaneſe, while he is enſlaved, oppreſſed, and kept in continual fears by the rigour of the laws, againſt which he is perpetually ſtruggling, would have given way to the ſpirit of curioſity, that would have induced him to traverſe the ocean, and viſit foreign nations. By a frequent change of place and climate, he would inſenſibly have altered his manners, opinions, and characters; and this alteration would have been as fortunate for him, as it is for the generality of people. What he might have loſt by this intercourſe as a citizen, he would have gained as a man: but the Japaneſe are become tygers, under the ſcourge of their tyrants.

Whatever may be ſaid in praiſe of the Spartans, the Egyptians, and other diſtinct nations, who have owed their ſuperior ſtrength, grandeur, and permanency, to the ſtate of ſeparation in which they kept themſelves, mankind has received no benefit from theſe ſolitary inſtitutions. On the contrary, the ſpirit of intercourſe is uſeful to all nations, as it promotes a mutual communication of their productions and knowledge. In a word, if it were uſeleſs or pernicious to ſome particular people, it was neceſſary for the Japaneſe. By commerce, they would have become enlightened in China, civilized in India, and diveſted of all their prejudices among the Europeans.

The Moluccas ſubmit to the Dutch.

The Dutch had the good fortune to meet with reſources which indemnified them for the loſs they had ſuſtained at Japan. They had not yet entered into commerce with theſe, the moſt remarkable iſlands in the torrid zone, when they attempted to ſecure to themſelves the trade of the Moluccas. The Portugueſe, who had long been in poſſeſſion of them, were obliged to ſhare their advantages with their maſters, the Spaniards; and, at length, to give up the trade al-

moſt entirely to them. The two nations, divided in their intereſts, and perpetually at war with each other, becauſe the government had neither leiſure nor ſkill to remove their mutual antipathy, joined to oppoſe the ſubjects of the United Provinces. The latter, aſſiſted by the natives of the country, who had not yet learned to fear or hate them, by degrees gained the ſuperiority. The ancient conquerors were driven out about the year 1621; and their place was ſupplied by others equally rapacious, though leſs turbulent, and more enlightened.

As ſoon as the Dutch had eſtabliſhed themſelves firmly at the Moluccas, they endeavoured to get the excluſive trade of ſpices into their own hands: an advantage which the nation they had juſt expelled had never been able to procure. They ſkilfully availed themſelves both of the forts they had taken by ſtorm, and of thoſe they had imprudently been ſuffered to erect, to draw the kings of Ternate and Tidor, who were maſters of this Archipelago, into their ſcheme. Theſe princes found themſelves obliged to conſent, that the clove and nutmeg trees ſhould be rooted up in the iſlands that were ſtill under their dominion. The firſt of theſe ſceptered ſlaves, in conſideration of this great ſacrifice, received a penſion of 70,950 livres [2956l. 5s.]; and the other, one of about 13,200 [549l.]. A garriſon of ſeven hundred men was appointed to ſecure the performance of this treaty: and to ſo low an ebb is the power of theſe kings reduced by war, tyranny, and misfortunes, that theſe forces would be more than ſufficient to keep them in this ſtate of dependence, if it were not neceſſary to have an eye upon the Philippine iſlands, whoſe vicinity conſtantly occaſions ſome alarm. Although the inhabitants be prohibited from carrying on any navigation, and that no foreign nation be admitted among them, the Dutch trade there is in a languiſhing ſtate, as they have no means of exchange, nor any ſilver but what they carry over to pay their troops, their agents, and the penſions. This adminiſtration, de-

BOOK II. ducting the ſmall profits, coſts the Company 154,000 livres [6416l. 13. 4d.] per annum.

The tree that bears the clove, looks like the birch-tree; and its bark is thin and ſmooth, like that of the beech. Its trunk, which is compoſed of an exceeding hard wood, does not riſe to any height, but divides itſelf into ſeveral principal branches, the boughs of which are covered with leaves and flowers in the month of March. The leaves are always placed oppoſite to each other, dotted, ſmooth, and not ſerrated, almoſt reſembling, in form and conſiſtence, thoſe of the laurel. The flowers, diſpoſed in a corymbus terminalis, have each of them a long quadrified calix, which bears as many white petals, and a great number of ſtamina. The piſtil encloſed at the bottom of this calix, becomes, along with it, an oviform fruit, filled up with a ſingle kernel, and known by the name of the mother-clove. This ſame calix, gathered before the unfolding of the petals, and the fecundation of the piſtil, is, properly ſpeaking, the clove; the gathering of which is the principal object of the cultivation of the clove-tree; which begins in October, and ends in February. When the cloves have acquired a reddiſh caſt, and a certain degree of firmneſs, they are made to fall from the tree, by the help of long reeds, or by ſtrongly ſhaking the branches, and are received into large cloths, or upon the ground, after it has been ſwept clean. They are afterwards expoſed, for a few days, to ſmoke, upon hurdles covered with large leaves. This fumigation, to which the heat of a ſtove might, perhaps, be ſubſtituted with advantage, is followed, by drying the cloves in the ſun: this operation is thought to be completed, when, upon raiſing with the nail part of the outward covering of the clove, the inſide diſplays a beautiful red colour.

The clove-tree requires a rich and fertile ſoil. Its growth is aſſiſted, by giving it room, and by pulling up the weeds and ſhrubs that ſhoot out in its neighbourhood. This circumſtance has given occaſion to ſome travellers to ſay, that it attracted to itſelf all the

nutritious juices of the ſoil it ſprings from. If it were left to itſelf, it would riſe to a conſiderable height; but a low ſtem, ſending off branches at its origin, is preferred, for the facility of gathering the fruit.

The cloves which have been left upon the tree, continue growing till they are half an inch thick. They are then fit for germination, provided they be immediately put into the ground; and they produce the clove-tree, which flowers only at the end of eight or nine years. Theſe fruits, or mother-cloves, though inferior to the common ſort, are not without their value. The Dutch preſerve them in ſugar; and, in voyages, eat them after meals, to promote digeſtion; or make uſe of them, as an agreeable remedy for the ſcurvy.

The clove, to be in perfection, muſt be full-ſized, heavy, oily, and eaſily broken; of a fine ſmell, and a hot aromatic taſte, ſo as almoſt to burn the throat: it ſhould make the fingers ſmart when handled, and leave a greaſy moiſture upon them when preſſed. The principal uſe of it is for culinary purpoſes. In ſome parts of Europe, and in India particularly, it is ſo much prized, that it is thought to be an indiſpenſible ingredient in almoſt every kind of nouriſhment. It is there put into food, liquors, wines; and enters likewiſe into the compoſition of perfumes. It is little uſed in medicine; but there is an oil extracted from it, which is in conſiderable repute.

The Company have allotted the inhabitants of Amboyna four thouſand parcels of land; on each of which they were at firſt allowed, and, about the year 1720, compelled to plant a hundred and twenty-five trees, amounting, in the whole, to five hundred thouſand. Each tree yields annually, on an average, upwards of two pounds of cloves: and, conſequently, the collective produce muſt weigh more than a million.

The cultivator is paid with the ſpecie that is conſtantly returned to the Company, and with ſome blue and unbleached cottons which are brought from Coromandel. This ſmall trade might, in ſome meaſure,

BOOK II.

have been increaſed, if the inhabitants of Amboyna, and the ſmall iſlands that depend upon it, would have attended to the culture of pepper and indigo, which has been tried with ſucceſs. Miſerable as theſe iſlanders are, they ſtill remain in a ſtate of indolence, becauſe they have not been tempted by an adequate reward for their labours.

The adminiſtration is ſomewhat different in the iſlands of Banda, which are thirty leagues diſtant from Amboyna. There are five of theſe iſlands; two of which are uncultivated, and almoſt uninhabited: and the other three claim the diſtinction of being the only iſlands in the world that produce the nutmeg.

The nutmeg-tree, in its ſize and foliage, reſembles the pear-tree. Its trunk, which is not high, is covered, as well as the branches, with a ſmooth, aſh-coloured bark. Its leaves, alternately diſpoſed, are oval, ſharp-pointed, green on the upper ſurface, whitiſh on the lower, and, when bruiſed, diffuſe an aromatic ſmell. The flowers, the botanical characters of which have not yet been ſufficiently obſerved, are ſucceeded by the fruit, which is covered with an external green covering, ſimilar in its form to that of the common walnut, but more fleſhy, and full of juice. This external covering, when grown ripe, acquires a deep yellow colour; and, as it opens, diſcovers an internal membranous coat, of a beautiful red colour, ſlit through in different places, and known by the name of mace, which lies immediately over the thin and brittle ſhell that encloſes the nutmeg. This is the time to gather it, otherwiſe the mace would get looſe; and the nutmeg would loſe that oil which preſerves it, and in which its excellence conſiſts. The nutmegs that are gathered before they are perfectly ripe, are preſerved in vinegar or ſugar, and are admired only in Aſia.

It is nine months before the fruit comes to perfection. After it is gathered, the outer rind is ſtripped off, and the mace ſeparated from it, which is laid in the ſun to dry. The nuts require more preparation. They are ſpread upon hurdles, or dried for ſix weeks

by a ſlow fire, in ſheds erected for that purpoſe. They are then ſeparated from the ſhell, and thrown into lime-water, which is a neceſſary precaution to preſerve them from worms.

The nutmeg differs in goodneſs, according to the age of the tree, the ſoil, the expoſition, and method of culture. This tree, contrary to the clove, delights in a damp ſoil, overgrown with weeds, and even ſhaded by large trees, provided it be not ſtifled by them. Under their ſhelter, it thrives very well, and bears the colds which are ſometimes felt on the tops of the mountains. The round nutmeg is preferred to that which is oblong, though they are only different conformations of the ſame fruit. That fruit is more particularly eſteemed which is freſh, moiſt, heavy, of a good ſmell, and an agreeable though bitter flavour, and which yields an oily juice upon being pricked. The immoderate uſe of this ſpice brings on paroxyſms of madneſs, and ſometimes occaſions death. In proper quantities, it facilitates digeſtion, expels wind, ſtrengthens the bowels, and ſtops the dyſentery. The congealed oil which is drawn by expreſſion from the nutmegs rejected at the market, and that which is furniſhed by the mace, are uſed externally in diſorders of the nervous ſyſtem.

A wild kind of clove-tree is found at Amboyna, which differs from the former, in growing to a greater height, in having its leaves much longer, and its matrices very oblong, rough upon the ſurface, and of a diſagreeable taſte. The iſlands of Banda furniſh alſo five or ſix ſpecies of wild nutmeg-trees, which the Dutch have neglected to deſtroy, becauſe the fruit they bear, being but ſlightly aromatic, and of no value in trade, is merely an object of curioſity.

If we except this valuable ſpice, the iſlands of Banda, like all the Moluccas, are barren to a dreadful degree. What they produce in ſuperfluities, they want in neceſſaries. The land will not bring forth any kind of corn: and the pith of the ſago ſerves the natives of the country inſtead of bread.

BOOK II.

As this food will not be ſufficient for the Europeans who ſettle in the Moluccas, they are allowed to fetch proviſions from Java, Macaſſar, or the extremely fertile iſland of Bali. The Company itſelf carries ſome merchandiſe to Banda.

This is the only ſettlement in the Eaſt Indies that can be conſidered as an European colony; becauſe it is the only one where the Europeans are proprietors of lands. The Company, finding that the inhabitants of Banda were ſavage, cruel, and treacherous, becauſe they were impatient under their yoke, reſolved to exterminate them. Their poſſeſſions were divided among the white people, who got ſlaves from ſome of the neighbouring iſlands to cultivate the lands. Theſe white people are for the moſt part Creoles, or malcontents who have quitted the ſervice of the Company. In the ſmall iſle of Roſinging, there are likewiſe ſeveral banditti, whom the laws have branded with diſgrace, and young men of abandoned principles, whoſe families wanted to get rid of them: ſo that Banda is called the *Iſland of Correction*. Theſe wretches live but a ſhort time here: but the other iſlands of Banda are not much leſs fatal. It is on account of the loſs of ſo great a number of men, that attempts have been made to transfer the culture of the nutmeg to Amboyna; and the Company were likewiſe probably urged to this by the two other powerful motives of economy and ſecurity. But the experiments that have been made have proved unſucceſsful, and matters remain in their former ſtate.

To ſecure excluſively to themſelves the produce of the Moluccas, which are, with good reaſon, ſtyled the *gold mines* of the Company, the Dutch have purſued all the means that an enlightened ſpirit of avarice could ſuggeſt to them; and have been aſſiſted in their deſigns by nature.

The earthquakes, which are frequeut and dreadful in theſe latitudes, render the navigation dangerous. They ſwallow up every year banks of ſand in theſe ſeas, and form new ones in their ſtead. Theſe revo-

lutions, the frequency and effects of which are exaggerated by policy, must of course keep at a distance the foreign navigator, who is in want of the necessary assistance to guide his ship with safety.

This first circumstance in favour of an exclusive trade, is strengthened by another, perhaps still more efficacious. During a considerable part of the year, the ships driven off by winds and opposite currents, cannot land at the Moluccas; and are therefore obliged to wait for the favourable season succeeding these tempestuous times. But at this period, a number of experienced and vigilant guarda costas take possession of this ocean, now become quiet, in order to keep off or seize upon all the ships that may have been brought there by the allurement of gain.

It is in these calm seasons that the governors of Amboyna and Banda are employed in going over the islands, in which the Company, at the first dawn of their power, destroyed all the spices. The odious business they are engaged in obliges them to maintain a perpetual struggle with the liberality of nature, and to cut up the trees wherever they sprout. They are forced to renew their expeditions every year, because the earth, rebelling against the hands that lay it waste, seems obstinately to strive against the wickedness of men; and because the nutmeg and the clove, springing up afresh under the knife that extirpates them, deceive that cruel spirit of rapaciousness, which is an enemy to every thing that does not grow for itself. These abominable excursions begin and end with festivals; the particulars of which would make a man of the least feeling shudder, if I could prevail upon myself to mention them.

The intent of all civil and religious festivals, from their first institution down to our times, either in the huts of the savage, or in civilized towns, is to renew the remembrance of some favourable period, or some fortunate event, and they are each of them marked with their peculiar characters. The priest ushers in

BOOK II.

the day with the ringing of his bells; he opens the gates of his temple; he ſummons the citizens to the foot of the altar; he arrays himſelf in his moſt ſumptuous garments; he raiſes his hands towards heaven; he implores its mercy for the future, and expreſſes his gratitude for the paſt, in ſongs of gladneſs. On going out of the temple, the civil feſtival begins, and joy is diſplayed under another aſpect. The tribunals of juſtice are ſhut. The noiſe which is no longer heard in the ſhops, breaks forth in the ſtreets and public places. The ſound of muſic invites to the ſprightly dance, in which perſons of both ſexes and of various ages mix together. The ordinary ſtrictneſs of parents is relaxed; and wine flows abundantly on all ſides. At length the abſence of the ſun is ſupplied by illuminations, which reſtore to pleaſure that freedom that the light of the day ſeemed to preclude. With what impatience are not theſe days of public rejoicing expected? They are talked of long before they arrive; and become the general topic of converſation for a long time after they have been celebrated. Thus it is, that if the people be wretched, they are made to forget their daily afflictions; if they be happy, thus it is that their affection for the authors of their felicity is redoubled; and that the ſpark of enthuſiaſm is kept alive, either by the remembrance of the good ſovereigns by whom they have been governed heretofore, or by the recollection of the brave and virtuous anceſtors from whom they are deſcended. It ſhould ſeem, however, that at the Moluccas, the feſtivals inſtituted by the Dutch have had no other view, but to perpetuate the memory of the atrocious acts they have committed, and to cheriſh the ſentiment of vengeance in the heart. It is only under the empire of demons, that feſtivals ſhould be gloomy: but ſuch is the averſion of man for labour, that the people delight in all kinds of feſtivals, whether they be melancholy or cheerful.

The Dutch, in order that they might the more ef-

fectually graſp, in proceſs of time, the monopoly of the ſpice trade, have formed two ſettlements, one at Timor, the other at Celebes.

The Dutch form a ſettlement at Timor.

The firſt of theſe iſlands is ſixty leagues long, and from fifteen to eighteen broad. It is divided into ſeveral ſovereignties; in which there are numbers of Portugueſe. Theſe conquerors, who at their firſt arrival in India had advanced with the utmoſt intrepidity and moſt amazing celerity, and had purſued a long and dangerous career with a rapidity which nothing could ſtop; who were ſo well accuſtomed to acts of heroiſm, that they performed the moſt arduous enterpriſes with eaſe; theſe conquerors, I ſay, when they were attacked by the Dutch, at the time that their whole empire, grown too large and tottering under its own weight, was tumbling to ruin on all ſides, diſplayed none of thoſe virtues which have laid the foundation of their power. When they were diſpoſſeſſed of a fort, driven out of a kingdom, or diſperſed in conſequence of a defeat, they ſhould have ſought an aſylum among their brethren, and ſhould have rallied under ſtandards that had hitherto been invincible; either to put a ſtop to the progreſs of the enemy, or to recover their ſettlements: but ſo far were they from forming a reſolution ſo generous, that they ſolicited ſome employment, or penſion, from thoſe very Indian princes whom they had ſo often inſulted. Thoſe who had contracted a habit of effeminacy and idleneſs above the reſt, retreated to Timor, which, being a poor iſland, where no works of induſtry were carried on, would ſcreen them, they thought, from the purſuit of an enemy intent upon uſeful conqueſts. They were however deceived. In the year 1613 they were driven from the town of Cupan by the Dutch, who found a fort there, which they have ever ſince garriſoned with fifty men. The Company ſends ſome coarſe linens there every year, and receives in return, wax, tortoiſe-ſhell, ſanders wood, and cadiang, a ſmall ſpecies of bean, commonly uſed by the Dutch on ſhip-board, by way of varying the food of the crew. All theſe objects em-

BOOK II.

ploy one or too ſloops, which are diſpatched from Batavia: nothing is either gained or loſt by this ſettlement; the profits juſt anſwer the expences. The Dutch would have abandoned Timor long ago, if they had not been apprehenſive that ſome active nation might fix there, and avail themſelves of the opportunities that ſituation would give them to diſturb the trade of the Moluccas. It was the ſame cautious principles which drew them to Celebes.

The Dutch make themſelves maſters of Celebes.

This iſland, which is about a hundred and thirty leagues in diameter, is very habitable, though ſituated in the centre of the torrid zone. The heats are allayed by copious rains and cooling breezes. The inhabitants are the braveſt people in the ſouth of Aſia; their firſt attack is furious; but, after a conteſt of two hours, a total want of courage takes place of this extraordinary impetuoſity: the intoxicating fumes of opium, which are certainly the cauſe of this terrible fury, go off, after they have exhauſted their ſtrength in tranſports that approach to madneſs. The *Kris*, which is their favourite weapon, is a foot and a half long; it is ſhaped like a poniard, and the blade is ſerpentine. They never carry more than one to battle; but in private quarrels two are neceſſary; they parry with that in the left hand, and attack the adverſary with the other. The wounds made by this weapon are very dangerous, and the duel moſt commonly ends in the death of both the combatants.

The inhabitants of Celebes are rendered active, induſtrious, and robuſt, by a rigid education. Every hour in the day their nurſes rub them with oil, or lukewarm water. Theſe repeated unctions encourage nature to unfold her powers with freedom. They are weaned at an year old, an idea prevailing, that if they continued to ſuck any longer, it would hurt their underſtandings. When they are five or ſix years old, the male children of any diſtinction are intruſted to the care of ſome relation or friend, that their courage may not be weakened by the careſſes of their mothers, and a habit of reciprocal tenderneſs. They do not

return to their families till they have attained the age in which the law permits them to marry.

Here we have, indeed, a ſingular inſtance of civilization among ſlaves, upon the moſt important concern of human life. Which of the poliſhed nations of Europe has carried the care of education ſo far? Which of us as yet thought of ſecuring his poſterity from the effects of parental ſeduction? The precautions taken at Celebes, which would be uſeful in all ranks, would be particularly neceſſary for the children of monarchs.

Theſe are more expoſed than others to be tainted with that corruption which ſurrounds them on all ſides; and which at once attacks their head and their heart, through the medium of all their ſenſes. How is it poſſible that they ſhould be affected with the ſight of miſery, which they are unacquainted with, and never experience? that they ſhould be lovers of truth, when their ears have been only accuſtomed to the accents of flattery? Admirers of virtue, while they are bred in the midſt of unworthy ſlaves, who are all eager to extol their propenſities and their inclinations? Patient in adverſity, which they are not always exempt from? Or, how ſhould they be reſolute in dangers to which they are ſometimes expoſed, when they have been enervated by effeminacy, and continually impreſſed with ideas of the importance of their exiſtence? How is it poſſible that they ſhould eſtimate the ſervices they receive, or know the value of the blood ſpilt for the preſervation of their empire, and to enhance the ſplendour of their reign, when they have imbibed the fatal prejudice of every thing being their due, and of its being even too great an honour to die in their cauſe? Strangers to every idea of juſtice, how is it poſſible that they ſhould not become the ſcourge of that portion of the human race, whoſe happineſs is committed to their care?

Fortunately theſe corrupt tutors are ſooner or later puniſhed by the ingratitude of their pupils; who, themſelves being miſerable in the midſt of their great-

BOOK II. neſs, are all their lifetime tormented with a deep ſenſe of diſguſt, which cannot be removed from their places. Fortunately the ſullen ſilence of their ſubjects announces to them, from time to time, the hatred they are held in; and they are too weak to diſdain it. Fortunately the religious prejudices that have been inſtilled into them, riſe up and tyrannize their conſciences. Fortunately, after a life which no mortal, not even the loweſt of their ſubjects, would accept of, if he were ſenſible of all the wretchedneſs of it, they find gloomy perturbation, terror, and deſpair, attending upon their laſt moments.

Formerly the people of Celebes acknowledged no other gods but the ſun and the moon. They ſacrificed to them in the public ſquares, having no materials which they thought valuable enough to be employed in raiſing temples. According to the creed of theſe iſlanders, the ſun and moon were eternal as well as the heavens, the empire of which they divided between them. Ambition ſet them at variance. The moon, flying from the ſun, miſcarried, and was delivered of the earth; ſhe was big with ſeveral other worlds, which ſhe will ſucceſſively bring forth, but without violence, in order to repair the loſs of thoſe which the fire of her conqueror will conſume.

Theſe abſurdities were univerſally received at Celebes; but they had not ſo determined an influence over either the nobles or the people as is found in the religious doctrines of other nations. About two centuries ago, ſome Chriſtians and Mohammedans having brought their opinions here, the principal king of the country took a total diſlike to the national worſhip. Alarmed at the terrible cataſtrophe with which he was equally threatened by both the new ſyſtems of religion, he convened a general aſſembly. On the day appointed he aſcended an eminence; where, ſpreading out his hands towards heaven, and in a ſtanding poſture, he addreſſed the following prayer to the Supreme Being:

"Great God, I do not, at this time, fall down be-

" fore thee, becauſe I do not implore thy clemency. I have nothing to aſk of thee which thou ought'ſt not in juſtice to grant. Two foreign nations, whoſe mode of worſhip is widely different, are come to ſtrike terror into my mind, and the minds of my ſubjects. They aſſure me, that thou wilt puniſh me eternally if I do not obey thy laws: I have, therefore, a right to require that thou wouldſt make them known to me. I do not aſk thee to reveal the impenetrable myſteries which ſurround thy eſſence, and which to me are uſeleſs. I am come hither to inquire, together with my people, what thoſe duties are which thou intendeſt to preſcribe to us. Speak, O my God! ſince thou art the Author of Nature, thou canſt diſcern the bottom of our hearts, and knoweſt that it is impoſſible they ſhould entertain any thoughts of diſobedience. But if thou condeſcendeſt not to make thyſelf underſtood by mortals; if it be unworthy of thine eſſence to employ the language of man to dictate the duties required of man; I call my whole nation, the ſun which enlightens me, the earth that ſupports me, the waters that encompaſs my dominions, and thyſelf to witneſs, that, in the ſincerity of my heart, I ſeek to know thy will: And I declare to thee this day, that I ſhall acknowledge, as the depoſitaries of thy oracles, the miniſters of either religion whom thou ſhalt cauſe to arrive the firſt in our harbours. The winds and the waves are the miniſters of thy power; let them be the ſignals of thy will. If, with theſe honeſt intentions, I embrace an error, my conſcience will be at eaſe, and the blame will lie upon thee."

The aſſembly broke up, determined to wait the orders of Heaven, and to follow the firſt miſſionaries that ſhould arrive at Celebes. The apoſtles of the Coran were the moſt active; and the ſovereign and his people were circumciſed: the other parts of the iſland ſoon followed their example.

This unfortunate circumſtance did not prevent the Portugueſe from gaining a footing at Celebes. They

BOOK II. maintained their ground there, even after they were driven out of the Moluccas. The motive which induced them to ſtay, and which attracted the Engliſh to this place, was the facility of procuring ſpices, which the natives of the country found means to get, notwithſtanding the precautions that were taken to keep them at a diſtance from the places where they grew.

The Dutch, who by this competition were prevented from monopolizing the articles of cloves and nutmegs, attempted, in 1660, to put a ſtop to this trade, which they called contraband. To favour this deſign, they had recourſe to means repugnant to all principles of morality, but which an inſatiable avarice has rendered very common in Aſia. By perſevering in theſe infamous proceedings, they ſucceeded ſo far as to drive out the Portugueſe, keep off the Engliſh, and take poſſeſſion of the harbour and fort of Macaſſar. From that time they were abſolute maſters of the iſland without having conquered it. The princes among whom it was divided, re-united in a kind of confederacy. They hold aſſemblies, from time to time, on affairs that concern the general intereſt; and the reſult of their determinations becomes a law to each ſtate. When any conteſt ariſes, it is decided by the governor of the Dutch colony, who preſides at this diet. He obſerves theſe different ſovereigns with a watchful eye, and keeps them in perfect equality with each other, to prevent any of them from aggrandizing himſelf to the prejudice of the Company. The Dutch have diſarmed them all, under pretence of hindering them from injuring each other, but in reality with a view of depriving them of the power of breaking their chains.

The Chineſe, who are the only foreigners permitted to come to Celebes, carry thither tobacco, gold wire, china, and unwrought ſilks. The Dutch ſell opium, ſpirituous liquors, gum lac, fine and coarſe linens. This iſland furniſhes a little gold, great quantities of rice, wax, ſlaves, and tripam, a ſpecies of muſhroom, which increaſes in value in proportion to the roundneſs of its form, and the blackneſs of its colour. The

cuſtoms bring in 88,000 livres [3666l. 13s. 4d.] to the Company; but it receives a much larger profit from its trade, and the tenth part of the territory which it holds in full right of ſovereignty. Theſe advantages, however, taken together, do not counterbalance the expences of the colony, which ariſe to 165,000 livres [6875l.] more. It would certainly be given up, if it were not with reaſon looked upon as the key of the ſpice iſlands.

The Dutch open a communication with Borneo.

The ſettlement at Borneo was formed with a leſs intereſting view. It is one of the largeſt, if not actually the largeſt iſland hitherto known. The ancient inhabitants live in the inland parts. The coaſts are peopled with inhabitants from Macaſſar, with Japaneſe, Malayans, and Arabs, who, to the vices that are natural to them, have added a ferocity hardly to be met with elſewhere.

About the year 1526, the Portugueſe attempted to ſettle at Borneo. Too feeble to make their arms reſpected, they tried to gain the good will of one of the ſovereigns of the country, by offering him ſome pieces of tapeſtry. This weak prince took the figures wrought in it for inchanted men, who would ſtrangle him in the night-time, if he ſuffered them to come near his perſon. The explanations they gave to remove his apprehenſions had no effect; he obſtinately refuſed to let the preſent be brought into his palace, and prohibited the donors from entering his capital.

However, theſe adventurers afterwards gained admiſſion; but this was an unfortunate privilege to them; for they were all maſſacred. A factory, which the Engliſh eſtabliſhed ſome years after, ſhared the ſame fate. The Dutch, who had met with no better treatment, appeared again, in the year 1748, with a ſquadron, which, though very inconſiderable, ſo far impoſed upon the prince, to whom the pepper entirely belongs, that he determined to grant them the privilege of trading for it excluſively; with this ſingle reſerve, that he ſhould be allowed to deliver five hundred thouſand pounds of this article to the Chineſe, who had always

BOOK II.

frequented his ports, Since this treaty, the Company ſends rice, opium, ſalt, and coarſe linens, to Bendermaſſen: articles, the profits upon which are ſcarce ſufficient to defray the expences of the ſettlement, although they do not exceed 33,000 livres [1375l.] per annum. The profits ariſe, however, from the ſale of a ſmall number of diamonds, picked up at great intervals, in the rivers, and from ſix hundred thouſand weight of pepper, which the Company purchaſe at 34 livres [1l. 8s. 4d.] the hundred. Even the agents cannot obtain any thing from Borneo, for their own private traffic, except thoſe beautiful canes, the uſe of which becomes more and more general in our climates. More conſiderable advantages are derived from Sumatra.

Settlement of the Dutch at Sumatra.

This iſland extends from north to ſouth eleven degrees. It is divided into two parts, almoſt equal, by the equator, which cuts it obliquely. The heats are moderated by a regular ſucceſſion of ſea and land breezes, and by very plentiful rains, which are frequent in a country covered with foreſts, and where the thouſandth part of the ſoil is not cleared. Upon this immenſe ſpace, volcanos are infinitely common; and this is the reaſon, perhaps, why earthquakes are more frequent than deſtructive.

The ſouth part of the iſland is occupied by the Malayans, whoſe anceſtors had no more than ſix leagues of the ſea to croſs to go into another country. The time of their coming there is not known; neither are we acquainted with the difficulties they had to conquer in forming their ſettlement. The feudal government, under which they were born, was that which they eſtabliſhed. Each captain appropriated to himſelf a certain diſtrict, for which he paid homage to ſome chief of higher reputation. This kind of ſubordination has gradually diminiſhed; but there are ſtill ſome traces of it remaining.

The religion of theſe people is Mohammedaniſm, blended with a variety of other fables. Their notions upon the univerſe are particularly whimſical. They

believe that the earth, which is perfectly motionleſs, is ſupported by an ox, the ox by a ſtone, the ſtone by a fiſh, the fiſh by water, the water by air, the air by darkneſs, and darkneſs by light. This is the end of their ſyſtem; but the allegory, which might be couched under theſe abſurdities, is entirely loſt.

The Malayans have few civil laws; and their criminal code is ſtill ſhorter. Fines, equally divided between the injured perſon, or his heirs, and the magiſtrate, are the only puniſhment for murder and other crimes. If the delinquency be not proved, they have recourſe to thoſe extravagant and capricious kinds of proof, which for a long time have been the opprobrium of Europe.

One of the ſingularities of their manners is, that they never pay any viſit without bringing ſome preſent along with them. This conſiſts uſually in birds, lemons, or cacao nuts. No greater rudeneſs could be offered than to refuſe them; but this is a kind of unpoliteneſs that never occurs.

As theſe people have few wants ariſing from ſocial connections, and as their real neceſſities are eaſily ſupplied by nature, they ſeldom apply themſelves to labour, and that with the utmoſt reluctance. They dwell in huts, raiſed upon pillars of eight feet high, which are made of bamboo, and covered with palm leaves; and their furniture conſiſts of a few earthen veſſels. A piece of cloth, twiſted round the loins in form of a girdle, is the common covering of the two ſexes.

In the north-weſt part of the iſland we meet with another nation, known by the name of Batta. It is a cuſtom with theſe people to eat criminals convicted of treaſon or adultery. It is ſaid, that the hope of inſpiring horror for theſe crimes, which were become too common, is the only motive that has given riſe to ſo barbarous a cuſtom.

In the northern part, and there only, the gum benzoin is found, which is chiefly conſumed in Perſia; and it is there alſo that we find that precious camphire

BOOK II.

growing, the uſe of which is reſerved for the Chineſe, and eſpecially for the Japaneſe.

Camphire is a volatile and penetrating oil, or reſin, fit for diſpelling tumours, and ſtopping the progreſs of inflammation; and it is alſo known for the uſe that is made of it in fireworks.

The tree which furniſhes the camphire, is a ſpecies of laurel, common in Japan, and in ſome diſtricts of China. Its trunk riſes to the height of the oak. The leaves, alternately diſpoſed upon the boughs, are thin, ſhining, oval, terminating in a point, and emitting a ſmell of camphire, when they are bruiſed. The flowers, collected into cluſters, are white; and are each of them compoſed of ſix ſhort petals, in the midſt of which is a piſtil, ſurrounded by nine ſtamina. As the fruit ripens, it becomes a ſmall blackiſh berry, of the ſize of a pea, and filled with an oily kernel. All the parts of the plant contain camphire; but the greateſt quantity is obtained from the trunk, and eſpecially from the roots. For this purpoſe, they are cut into ſlices, and put with water into an iron veſſel covered over with its receiver. The heat of a fire, lighted underneath the veſſel, makes the camphire riſe, which attaches itſelf to the receiver. It is collected with care, and then ſent into Holland, where it is purified by a ſecond diſtillation, before it is expoſed to ſale.

The camphire that is brought from Sumatra is by much the moſt perfect. This is ſo well known, that the Japaneſe and Chineſe themſelves give ſeveral quintals of theirs for one pound of this. The botaniſts are not yet well acquainted with the tree that produces it. All they know is, that it does not grow ſo high as the former; that its petals are more elongated, its fruit larger, and its leaves, as well as its wood, thicker, and leſs odoriferous. The aſſiſtance of fire is not called in to extract the camphire from it; but, after the trunk has been ſplit into pieces, this ſubſtance is ſeparated from it, quite formed, and lodged in the interſtices of the fibres, ſometimes in clots, and ſometimes diſpoſed in flakes, or in the form of berries, which are more

eſteemed in proportion to their ſize and purity. Each tree yields about three pounds of a light, friable, and eaſily ſoluble camphire, which evaporates in the air, though much more ſlowly than the camphire of Japan.

The ordinary kind of camphire is ſeldom given internally, becauſe it excites nauſea, and affects the head. That of Sumatra acts very differently; for it ſtrengthens the ſtomach, removes obſtructions, and increaſes the efficacy of the medicines with which it is combined. Both the ſorts of camphire appear to be the produce of the ſame tree, which is probably a ſpecies of the laurel. We are induced to think this, becauſe the genuine cinnamon tree of Ceylon, and the baſtard one of Malabar, other ſpecies of the ſame genus, yield by diſtillation a real camphire, but leſs perfect, and in ſmaller quantity.

The lands in the north-eaſt part of the iſland are almoſt always under water; ſo that there are ſcarce any inhabitants there; and the few that are found are pirates. They were almoſt all deſtroyed in 1760; but a new ſet of robbers have ariſen, as it were, from their aſhes, and have begun again to infeſt the Streights of Malacca, and other leſs celebrated latitudes.

The mountains in the interior parts of the country are full of mines; and the ſurface of them is ſtirred up in the dry ſeaſon. The rains, which laſt from November to March, and which fall down in torrents, detach the gold, the matrix of which is a very white ſpar, from the earth, and draw it along into circles made of willow, deſtined to receive it, and diſpoſed in great numbers; ſo that the gold which might eſcape the firſt, may be retained in ſome of the ſucceeding ones. When the ſky becomes ſerene again, each proprietor goes with his ſlaves to collect the treaſures, more or leſs conſiderable, which chance has allotted to him. He exchanges them for linens, or other goods, furniſhed by the Engliſh and the Dutch.

Theſe have attempted to work the mines of Sumatra, according to the method generally practiſed in the

BOOK II.

old and new hemiſpheres. Whether from ignorance or diſhoneſty, the two experiments made for this purpoſe have failed; and the Company has at length been convinced, after having been led into too much expence, that it was not proper for them any longer to purſue ſo precarious a track of fortune.

Before the arrival of the Europeans in India, the little trade carried on by Sumatra was all concentred in the port of Achem. There it was that the Arabs and other navigators bought gold, camphire, benzoin, the neſts of birds, pepper, and in general every thing theſe iſlanders had to ſell. The Portugueſe, and the nations which raiſed themſelves upon their ruin, alſo frequented this mart, when it was overturned by ſome of thoſe revolutions which are too frequent in theſe countries.

At this period the Hollanders thought of eſtabliſhing ſix factories in other parts of the iſland which enjoyed moſt tranquillity. The advantages which might have been reaped from theſe trifling ſettlements in the beginning, have been almoſt entirely loſt in proceſs of time.

The moſt uſeful of them muſt be that of Palinban, ſituated in the eaſtern part of the iſland. The Company maintains there a fort and garriſon of eighty men for ſixty-ſix thouſand livres [2750l.]. Two millions weight of pepper are delivered to them at twenty-three livres ten ſols [19s. 3d.] the hundred; and one million and a half weight of tin at ſixty-one livres twelve ſols [2l. 11s. 4d.] the hundred. This laſt article is obtained entirely from the iſle of Banca, which is only one mile and a half diſtant from the continent, and which gives the name to the famous ſtrait through which the veſſels going directly from Europe to China generally paſs.

Although the Dutch get the commodities they purchaſe at Palinban at a low price, yet this price yields ſome profit to the ſovereign of the diſtrict, who forces his ſubjects to furniſh them to him at a ſtill lower rate. This inſignificant deſpot draws from Batavia part of

the food and clothing for the inhabitants of his dominions; and yet the Dutch are obliged to ſettle their account with him in piaſtres. From this money, and from the gold taken out of his rivers, he has amaſſed a treaſure which is known to be immenſe. One ſingle European veſſel might poſſeſs itſelf of all theſe riches; and, if there were any troops on board that it might land, they might maintain themſelves in a poſt which would have been taken without difficulty. It appears very extraordinary that an enterpriſe ſo uſeful and ſo eaſy ſhould not have enticed the avarice of ſome adventurer. BOOK II.

Civilized nations, who, to make themſelves maſters of the univerſe, have trampled upon all the rights, and ſtifled all the dictates of nature, will ſcarcely ſhrink at one additional act of injuſtice or cruelty. There is not a nation in Europe which does not think it has a juſt right to ſeize upon the treaſures of the Eaſt. Setting aſide motives of religion, which it is no longer faſhionable to plead, ſince its very miniſters have brought it into diſrepute, by their unbounded avarice and ambition, how many pretences are ſtill remaining to juſtify the rage of invaſion! People who live under a monarchy are deſirous of extending the glory and empire of their maſter beyond the ſeas. Theſe happy people are ready to venture their lives in the extreme parts of the globe, to increaſe the number of fortunate ſubjects who live under the laws of the beſt of princes. A free nation, which is its own maſter, is born to command the ocean; it cannot ſecure the dominion of the ſea, without ſeizing upon the land, which belongs to the firſt poſſeſſor; that is, to him who is able to drive out the ancient inhabitants; who are, therefore, to be enſlaved by force or fraud, and exterminated in order to get their poſſeſſions. The intereſts of commerce, the national debt, and the majeſty of the people, require it. Republicans, who have happily ſhaken off the yoke of ſovereign tyranny, muſt impoſe it on others in their turn. If they have broken their chains, it is to forge new ones. They deteſt monarchy, but they

BOOK II.

are in want of ſlaves. They have no lands of their own; they muſt, therefore, ſeize upon thoſe of others.

Trade of the Dutch at Siam.

The trade of the Dutch at Siam was at firſt rather conſiderable. A tyrannic prince, who oppreſſed this unhappy country, having, about the year 1660, ſhown a want of reſpect to the Company, it puniſhed him, by abandoning the factories it had eſtabliſhed in his dominions, as if it would have been a favour to have continued them. Theſe republicans, who affected an air of grandeur, choſe at that time to have their preſence looked upon as a favour, a ſecurity, and an honour: and they inculcated this ſingular prejudice with ſo much ſucceſs, that, in order to engage them to return, a pompous embaſſy was ſent, aſking pardon for what had paſſed, and giving the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of a different conduct for the future.

There was a time, however, when this deference was to ceaſe, and it was haſtened by the naval enterpriſes of other powers. The affairs of the Company at Siam have always been in a declining ſtate. Having no fort, it has never been in a condition to maintain the excluſive privilege. The king, notwithſtanding the preſents he requires, ſells merchandiſe to traders of all nations, and takes goods from them on advantageous terms; with this difference only, that they are obliged to ſtop at the mouth of the Menan, whereas the Dutch go up the river as far as the capital of the empire, where their agent conſtantly reſides. Their trade derives no great activity from this privilege. They ſend only one veſſel, which tranſports Javaneſe horſes, and is freighted with ſugar, ſpices, and linens; for which they receive in return tin, at ſeventy-ſeven livres [3l. 4s. 2d.] a hundred weight; gum lac, at fifty-ſeven livres four ſols [2l. 7s. 8d.]; ſome elephants teeth, at three livres twelve ſols [3s. 8d.] a pound; and from time to time a ſmall quantity of gold duſt. One may venture to aſſert, that their connections here are kept up merely on account of the ſappan wood, which is neceſſary for the ſtowing of their ſhips; and for which they give no leſs than five livres ten ſols [4s. 7d.] per

hundred weight. Were it not for this want, they would long ago have given up a trade in which the expence exceeds the profits, becauſe the king, who is the only merchant in his dominions, ſets a very low price upon the commodities that are imported. A more intereſting object turned the ambitious views of the Dutch towards Malacca.

Situation of the Dutch at Malacca.

Theſe republicans, who knew the importance of this place, uſed their utmoſt efforts to make themſelves maſters of it. Having failed in two attempts, they had recourſe at laſt, if we may believe a ſatirical writer, to an expedient which a virtuous people will never employ, but which frequently anſwers the purpoſe of a degenerate nation. They endeavoured to bribe the Portugueſe governor, whom they knew to be covetous. The bargain was concluded; and he introduced the enemy into the city in 1641. The beſiegers haſtened to his houſe, and maſſacred him, to ſave the payment of the 500,000 livres [20,833l. 6s. 8d.] they had promiſed him. But truth obliges us to declare, for the honour of the Portugueſe, that they did not ſurrender, till after a moſt obſtinate defence. The commander of the victorious party aſked the oppoſite commander, in a boaſting ſtrain, which is not natural to his nation, When he would come back again to the place? *When your crimes are greater than ours*, replied the Portugueſe gravely.

The conquerors found a ſtrong-built fort; a very healthy climate, though hot and damp: but the trade was entirely decayed; the continual exactions having deterred all nations from reſorting there. It has not been revived by the Company, either on account of ſome inſuperable difficulties, or the want of moderation, or the fear of injuring Batavia. The tranſactions, at preſent, are confined to a ſmall quantity of opium and gold, ſome linens, tin, and ivory.

Their trade would be more conſiderable, if the princes adhered more faithfully to the excluſive treaty ſubſiſting between them. Unfortunately for their intereſts, they have formed connections with the En-

BOOK II.

gliſh, who furniſh them with the commodities they want at a cheaper rate, and give a greater price for their merchandiſe. Their farms and cuſtoms make them ſome little amends, bringing in 220,000 livres [9166l. 13s. 4d.] a year. Theſe revenues, however, and the advantages of commerce, taken together, are not ſufficient to maintain the garriſon and people employed, which coſts the Company 44,000 livres [1833l. 6s. 8d.].

This might, for a long time, have appeared to be a ſmall ſacrifice. Before the Europeans had doubled the Cape of Good Hope, the Moors, who were the only maritime people in India, ſailed from Surat and Bengal to Malacca, where they found traders from the Molucca iſlands, Japan, and China. When the Portugueſe became maſters of this place, they did not wait till the merchandiſe of the Eaſt was brought from Aſia, but they went to fetch it themſelves, and returned by the Sunda iſlands. When the Dutch had got poſſeſſion of Malacca and Batavia, they were maſters of the two only paſſages that were then known, and were able to intercept, in time of war, the enemy's veſſels. The Straits of Lombock and Bali have been diſcovered ſince, and Malacca then loſt the only advantage that gave it importance. Fortunately for the Hollanders at this period, they were ſubduing Ceylon, which was to ſupply them with cinnamon, as the Moluccas did with nutmegs and cloves.

Settlement of the Dutch at Ceylon.

Spilberg, the firſt of their admirals who diſplayed his flag on the coaſt of this delicious iſland, found the Portugueſe employed in ſubverting the government and the religion of the country; in exciting the ſovereigns among whom it was divided, to deſtroy each other; and in raiſing themſelves upon the ruins of the ſtates that were thus ſucceſſively demoliſhed. He offered the court of Candy the aſſiſtance of his country, which was joyfully accepted. *You may aſſure your maſters*, ſaid the monarch, *that, if they will build a fort, myſelf, my wife, and children, will be the foremoſt in bringing the neceſſary materials.*

The people of Ceylon looked upon the Dutch in no other light than as the enemies of their oppreſſors, and joined them. By their united forces, the Portugueſe were, towards the year 1658, entirely expelled, after a long, bloody, and obſtinate war. All their ſettlements fell into the hands of the Company, who ſtill keep poſſeſſion of them, excepting a ſmall diſtrict on the eaſtern coaſt, without any port, from whence the ſovereign of the country had his ſalt: theſe ſettlements formed a regular ſtring, extending from two to twelve leagues into the inland parts of the iſland.

It is at Mataran only, and that not for any conſiderable time paſt, that pepper and coffee are cultivated. The territory of Negombo produces the beſt cinnamon. Columbo, well known for the goodneſs of its areca, is the capital of the colony. Had it not been for the expences which the Portugueſe had laid out upon this place, the badneſs of its road would probably have determined the conquerors to fix their adminiſtration and forces at the promontory of Galla, where the harbour, though too narrow and difficult of acceſs, is much ſuperior. Still greater conveniences and more ſecurity would be found at Trinquimale: but this excellent and ſpacious harbour is ſituated in an ungrateful ſoil, and at too great a diſtance from all vendible commodities, to be proper for a ſtaple. The uſe of the ports of Jaffranapatan, Manar, and Calpentine, is to prevent all commercial intercourſe with the people of the neighbouring continent.

By theſe precautions, the Company have appropriated all the productions of the iſland. The various articles which conſtitute the ſeveral branches of trade, are, 1. Divers precious ſtones, moſt of which are of an inferior quality. The Coolies, on the coaſt of Coromandel, are the perſons who buy them up, cut them, and diſperſe them in the ſeveral parts of India.

2. Pepper, which the Company buy for eight ſols nine deniers [about 4½d.] a pound; coffee, for which they only pay four ſols four deniers [little more than 2d.]; and cardamom, which has no fixed price. The

BOOK II. natives of the country are so indolent, that these productions will never turn to any great advantage.

3. A hundred bales of handkerchiefs, pagnes, and ginghams, of a fine red colour, which are fabricated by the Malabars at Jaffranapatan, where they have long been settled.

4. A small quantity of ivory, and about fifty elephants, which are carried to the coast of Coromandel. Thus this gentle and peaceful animal, which is too useful to mankind to be suffered to remain upon an island, is transported to the continent, to aggravate and bear a part in the dangers and horrors of war.

5. Areca, which the Company buys at the rate of eleven livres [9s. 2d.] the ammonan, a kind of measure which is supposed to hold twenty thousand arecas, and sells upon the spot at thirty-six or forty livres [from 1l. 10s. to 1l. 13s. 4d.]. The areca is a fruit rather common in most parts of Asia, and especially at Ceylon. It grows upon a kind of palm-tree, which, like the cocoa-tree, has fibrous roots and a cylindrical stem, marked with circular inequalities; large pennatified leaves, sheathed at their bases, and covered with a kind of net-work, when they are young; clusters of male and female flowers together and enclosed, before they expand, in spatha. It is distinguished by the trunk being equally straight throughout its length: the divisions of its leaves are larger; and those which are placed at the end of the centre costa, are generally shorter than the rest, and denticulated at the point.

The greatest difference lies in the fruit, which is oviform. Its bark is smooth, and rather thick; the kernel within it is of a whitish colour, of a substance analogous to that of the nutmeg, and of the same size, but harder; and streaked internally. This fruit is much used in Asia. When eaten by itself, as it sometimes is by the Indians, it impoverishes the blood, and dries up the fibres. It is not attended with these inconveniences, when mixed with betel.

The betel is a plant that creeps or climbs, like the ivy, along-side of trees or props, to which it fixes it-

ſelf by ſmall roots. From each joint of its ſarmentoſe ſtem, a leaf goes off, ſhaped almoſt like a heart, rather long, and narrowed at its extremity, like that of the convolvulus or binweed, uſually marked with ſeven nerves, more or leſs apparent. The flowers, arranged in a cloſe cluſter, puſh out at the inſertion of the leaves, and reſemble the flowers of the pear-tree, which has a great affinity to this plant. The betel grows in every part of India, but does not come to perfection, except in damp and clayey places. There are private cultivations of it, which turn out to a good account, becauſe of its being in conſtant uſe.

At all times of the day, and even in the night, the Indians chew the leaves of the betel, the bitterneſs of which is corrected by the areca that is wrapped up in them. There is conſtantly mixed with it the chinam, a kind of burnt lime made of ſhells. The rich frequently add perfumes, either to gratify their vanity or their ſenſuality.

It would be thought a breach of politeneſs among the Indians, to take leave for any length of time, without preſenting each other with a purſe of betel. It is a pledge of friendſhip that relieves the pain of abſence. It is cuſtomary to have the mouth always perfumed with betel, unleſs one is going to addreſs one's ſuperiors. The women of gallantry are the moſt laviſh in the uſe of betel, as being a powerful incentive to love. Betel is taken after meals; it is chewed during a viſit; it is offered when you meet, and when you ſeparate; in ſhort, nothing is to be done without betel. If it be injurious to the teeth, it aſſiſts and ſtrengthens the ſtomach. This is, at leaſt, the prejudice generally prevailing throughout India.

6. The pearl fiſhery, which is alſo one of the ſources of the revenue of Ceylon. It is no improbable conjecture, that this iſland, which is only fifteen leagues from the continent, was, at ſome diſtant period, ſeparated from it by ſome great convulſion of nature. The tract of ſea which at preſent divides it from the

BOOK II.

land, is ſo full of ſhallows, that no ſhips can ſail upon it; and there are only a few places where ſmall boats may paſs in four or five feet water. The Dutch, who aſſume the ſovereignty here, have always two armed ſloops, to enforce the payment of the taxes they have impoſed. In this ſtraight the pearl fiſhery is carried on, which was formerly of ſo much importance; but this ſource of wealth has been ſo much exhauſted, that it is but ſeldom it can be reſorted to. The bank, indeed, is viſited every year, to ſee how it is repleniſhed with oyſters; but, in general, it is five or ſix years before a ſufficient quantity is to be found. The fiſhery is then farmed out; and, every thing computed, it may produce to the revenues of the Company 200,000 livres [8333l. 6s. 8d.]. Upon the ſame coaſts, is found a ſhell-fiſh called chanque, of which the Indians at Bengal make bracelets. The fiſhery is free, but the trade is excluſive.

But the great object of the Company is cinnamon; which is the produce of a ſpecies of laurel. The root of this tree is fibrous, covered with a very odoriferous bark, from which a real camphire is extracted by diſtillation. Its trunk, of a moderate height, is divided into ſeveral branches; its leaves, almoſt always oppoſite and green, are oval, ſharp-pointed, and marked with three principal nerves; they are of a dark green, and have the ſmell of the clove. It is at their axilla, or at the extremity of the branches, that we find cluſters of very ſmall white flowers, each compoſed of ſix petals, nine ſtamina, and one piſtil, which, as it ripens, becomes a ſmall berry, of the form and conſiſtence of an olive, and filled with a bony kernel. According to ſome obſervers, the piſtil and the ſtamina are ſeparate, and ſupported upon two different plants; one male, the leaves of which are ſharper; the other female, which has them rounder. The berry, when boiled in water, yields an oil, which ſwims at the top, and takes fire. If it be ſuffered to congeal, it acquires a degree of whiteneſs and conſiſtence;

and candles are made of it, which have an agreeable smell, and are kept only for the use of the king of Ceylon. BOOK II.

The wood has no smell: the bark, which consists of three layers, and covers the trunk and the branches, is the only valuable part of the tree. In the months of February and September, that is to say, when the sap is most abundant, the two external layers are removed with great care, so as not to injure that which is close to the wood; in order that the wood may with ease acquire a fresh bark, which is taken off, as the former, at the end of eighteen months. These barks, when stripped of their epidermis, which is gray and rugged, are cut into slices, and exposed to the sun, and curl up in drying.

The old trees furnish only a coarse and almost insipid kind of cinnamon; but to make them young again, it is sufficient to cut off the trunk. The stock then produces a number of fresh stems, which answer every expectation.

The cinnamon is not reckoned excellent, unless it be fine, smooth, brittle, thin, of a yellow colour inclining to red, fragrant, aromatic, and of a poignant, yet agreeable taste. The connoisseurs give the preference to that, the pieces of which are long but slender. It adds to the delicacies of the table, and is of sovereign use in medicine.

At Ceylon, the art of stripping the cinnamon-trees is an employment of itself, and of the meanest kind. For this reason, it is left to the Coolies alone, who form the lowest of the casts. Any other individual who should follow this business, would be ignominiously expelled from his tribe.

The whole island is not covered with cinnamon-trees, as it is generally supposed; nor is it possible to strip all those that grow there. The mountains inhabited by the Bedas, are full of them; but these singular people do not admit either the Europeans or the Cinglasses into their country; and there is no possibility of penetrating into it, without being perpetually

BOOK II. engaged in war. The Dutch buy the greateſt part of the cinnamon they want from their ſubjects at Negombo, Columbo, and the promontory of Galla, the only diſtricts under their dominion that ſupply any. The reſt they obtain from the court of Candi, at a higher price. One with another, however, it does not coſt them more than thirteen ſols two deniers [about 7d.] a pound.

The territorial revenue, the cuſtoms, and other branches of trade at Ceylon, do not yield annually more than two millions two hundred thouſand livres [91,666l. 13. 4d.]; but the expences of the government, and defence of it, amount to two millions four hundred and twenty thouſand livres [100,833l. 6s. 8d.]: this deficiency is ſupplied from the profits on the cinnamon, which are applied to defray the expences of the wars, that are but too frequent in theſe parts.

Upon the firſt commencement of hoſtilities, moſt of the inhabitants who dwell upon the coaſt, and deteſt the European yoke, retire into the inland parts of the country. They do not even always wait for this ſignal, but ſometimes take the reſolution to withdraw themſelves as ſoon as they perceive the leaſt miſunderſtanding between their old and new maſters. The uſurpers, then deprived of the hands that uſed to ſupply them with riches, are obliged to penetrate, by force of arms, into a country interſected in all parts by rivers, woods, ravins, and mountains.

The Dutch, who foreſaw theſe calamities, endeavoured, from the time of their firſt ſettlement in the country, to ſeduce the king of Candi, by all the means that are generally moſt prevailing among the deſpotic princes of Aſia. Every year they ſent an ambaſſador laden with rich preſents. They offered their ſhips to convey his prieſts to Siam, to be inſtructed in the religion of that country, which is the ſame with his own. Although they had ſubdued the forts and lands which were occupied by the Portugueſe, they contented themſelves with receiving from this prince the ap-

pellation of *guardians of his coaſts*. They alſo made him ſeveral other conceſſions.

Theſe ſingular inſtances of management have not, however, been always ſufficient to maintain tranquillity, which has ſeveral times been interrupted. The war, which ended on the 14th of February 1766, had been the longeſt and the moſt active of any that had been occaſioned by miſtruſt, and the claſhing of intereſts. As the Company preſcribed terms to a monarch who was driven from his capital, and obliged to wander in the woods, they made a very advantageous treaty. Their ſovereignty was acknowledged over all the countries they were in poſſeſſion of before the troubles broke out; and that part of the coaſts which remained in the occupation of the natives was ceded to them. They are to be allowed to peal the cinnamon in all the plains, and the court is to ſell them the beſt ſort that is produced in the mountainous parts, at the rate of two livres, ſeven ſols, two deniers [near 2s.], per pound. Their agents are authoriſed to extend their trade to all parts where they think it can be carried on with advantage. The government engages to have no connection with any other foreign power; and even to deliver up any Europeans who may happen to have inſinuated themſelves into the iſland. In return for ſo many conceſſions, the king is to receive annually the value of the produce of the ceded coaſts: and from thence his ſubjects are to be furniſhed gratis with ſalt ſufficient for their conſumption. It ſhould ſeem that the Company may derive great advantages from ſo favourable an agreement.

The property of the lands in Ceylon belongs to the ſovereign more particularly than in any other part of India. This pernicious ſyſtem has in that iſland been attended with the fatal conſequences that are inſeparable from it. The people are in a ſtate of total inactivity. They live in huts, have no furniture, and ſubſiſt upon fruits; and thoſe who are the moſt affluent, have no other covering than a piece of coarſe linen wrapped about their waiſt. It were to be wiſhed

BOOK II.

that the Dutch would purſue a ſcheme, which all the nations who have eſtabliſhed colonies in Aſia are to blame, never to have attempted, and that is, to diſtribute the lands among the families, and make them their own property. They would forget, and perhaps hate their former ſovereign; they would attach themſelves to a government that conſulted their happineſs; they would become induſtrious, and occaſion a greater conſumption. Under ſuch circumſtances, the iſland of Ceylon would enjoy that opulence which was deſigned it by nature: it would be ſecure from revolutions, and be enabled to ſupport the ſettlements of the neighbouring continent, which it is bound to protect.

Trade of the Dutch on the coaſt of Coromandel.

As ſoon as the Dutch appeared in India, they were deſirous of having factories on the coaſts of Coromandel and Orixa. With the conſent of the ſovereigns of the country, they eſtabliſhed ſome at different times on the fiſhing coaſt, at Negapatnam, at Sadraſpatnam, at Pellicate, and at Bimilipatnam. They obtain annually from theſe ſeveral ſettlements, for the Aſiatic or European markets, four or five thouſand bales of linen, which are conveyed to Negapatnam, the principal of all theſe ſtations. This ſtaple was entirely open till the year 1690, when a tolerably regular citadel was built there, but of little extent. The houſes allowed to be erected there at intervals, having, in proceſs of time, rendered the fortifications uſeleſs, it was reſolved, in 1742, to ſurround the town with walls. Its territory, which at firſt was much confined, was ſucceſſively enlarged with ten or twelve villages, which were filled with manufactures.

The Dutch, in exchange for the merchandiſe they receive, give iron, lead, copper, tin, ſugar, arrack, wood for the building of houſes, pepper, ſpices, and tutenague, a kind of mineral partaking of the nature of iron and tin. Upon theſe united articles, they gain one million one hundred thouſand livres [45,833l. 6s. 8d.]; to which may be added, eighty-eight thouſand livres [3660l. 13s. 4d.], the produce of the cuſtoms. The preſent expences amount to eight hundred and eight

thouſand livres [33,666l. 13s. 4d.]; and we may venture to aſſert, without fear of being accuſed of exaggeration, that the freighting of the ſhips abſorbs the reſt of the profits. The nett produce, therefore, of trade to the Company is nothing more than what they get by the ſale of their linens.

Trade of the Dutch on the coaſt of Malabar.

Their ſituation is ſtill leſs advantageous at Malabar. The Portugueſe, driven from all parts, ſtill maintained their ground in this portion of India, with ſome degree of conſideration, when, in the year 1663, they were attacked by the Dutch, who took from them Culan, Cananor, Grandganor, and Cochin. The victorious general had but juſt inveſted this laſt place, the moſt important of them, when he received intelligence of a peace being concluded between his country and Portugal. This news was kept ſecret. The operations were carried on with vigour; and the beſieged haraſſed by continual aſſaults, ſurrendered the eighth day. The next day a frigate arrived from Goa with the articles of peace. The conquerors gave themſelves no further trouble to juſtify their treachery, than by alleging, that thoſe who complained in ſo haughty a ſtyle, had obſerved the ſame conduct at Brazil a few years before.

After this conqueſt the Dutch thought themſelves certain of carrying on a conſiderable trade in Malabar. The event has not anſwered the expectations conceived; for the Company have not ſucceeded according to their hopes of excluding other European nations from this coaſt. They procure no merchandiſe there but what they are furniſhed with from their other ſettlements; and being rivalled in their trade, they are obliged to give a higher price here than in the markets, where they enjoy an excluſive privilege.

Their articles of ſale conſiſt of a ſmall quantity of alum, benzoin, camphire, tutenague, ſugar, iron, calin, lead, copper, and quickſilver. The veſſel that has carried this trifling cargo returns to Batavia laden with caire, or cocoa-tree bark, for the uſe of the port. By theſe articles the Company gain at moſt 396,000

BOOK II.

livres [16,500l.], which, with 154,000 livres [6416l. 13s. 4d.] the produce of the cuſtoms, make the ſum total of 550,000 livres [22,916l. 13s. 4d.]. In time of profound peace, the maintenance of theſe ſettlements coſts 510,400 livres [21,266l. 13s. 4d.]; ſo that there are no more than 39,600 livres [1650l.] remaining to defray the expences of their ſhipping, for which that ſum is certainly not ſufficient.

It is true the Company gets two millions weight of pepper from Malabar, which is carried in ſloops to Ceylon, where it is put aboard the ſhips fitted out for Europe. It is likewiſe true, that by virtue of theſe capitulations, they pay only thirty-eight livres eight ſols [1l. 12s.] for pepper, for which the rival companies pay from forty-three [1l. 15s. 10d.] to forty-eight livres [2l.], and private merchants ſtill a great deal more: but whatever advantage they may derive from this article, is more than abſorbed by the bloody wars it occaſions.

Theſe obſervations had undoubtedly eſcaped the notice of Goloneſs, the director-general of Batavia, when he ventured to affirm, that the ſettlement of Malabar, which he had long ſuperintended, was one of the moſt important ſettlements belonging to the Company. "I am ſo far from being of your opinion," ſaid General Moſſel, "that I could wiſh the ſea had "ſwallowed it up a century ago."

Settlement of the Dutch at the Cape of Good Hope.

Be this as it may, the Dutch, in the height of their ſucceſs, felt the want of a place where their veſſels might put in for refreſhments either in going to, or returning from India. They were undetermined in their choice, when Van-Riebeck the ſurgeon, in 1650, propoſed the Cape of Good Hope, which the Portugueſe had imprudently neglected. This judicious man during a ſtay of ſome weeks, was convinced that a colony might be placed to advantage on this ſouthern extremity of Africa, which might ſerve as a ſtaple for the commerce of Europe and Aſia. The care of forming this ſettlement was committed to him; and his meaſures were concerted upon a good plan. He made

a regulation, that every man who chose to fix there, should have a proper quantity of land allotted him. Corn, cattle, and utensils were to be provided for those who wanted them. Young women, taken from alms-houses, were given them as companions, to alleviate and to share their fatigues. All persons, who, after three years, found the climate did not agree with them, had liberty to return to Europe, and to dispose of their possessions in what manner they chose. Having settled these arrangements, he set sail. BOOK II.

The large tract of country which it was proposed to cultivate, was inhabited by the *Hottentots, who are a* people divided into several clans, each of which forms a small independent republic; their villages consist of huts covered with skins, which cannot be entered without creeping upon their hands and knees, and are disposed in a circle. These huts are hardly of any other use than to hold a few provisions and household furniture. The Hottentots never enter them but in the rainy season. They are always found lying at their doors; there it is, that, equally regardless of the future and the past, they sleep, smoke, and intoxicate themselves.

The management of cattle is the sole employment of these savages. As there is but one herd in each town, which is common to all the inhabitants, each of them is appointed to guard it in his turn. This post requires constant vigilance, the country being full of wild voracious beasts. The shepherd sends out scouts every day. If a leopard or tyger be seen in the neighbourhood, the whole town takes up arms, and flies to the enemy, who seldom escapes from a multitude of poisoned arrows, or sharp stakes hardened in the fire.

As the Hottentots neither have nor appear to have riches, and that their sheep, which is all their property, are in common; there must necessarily be but little cause for disputes among them. Accordingly, they are united to each other by the ties of unalterable friendship: nor would they ever engage in war with their neighbours, if it were not for the quarrels be-

BOOK II. tween the ſhepherds on account of cattle that may have ſtrayed, or been carried off.

Like all people who lead a paſtoral life, they are full of benevolence, and partake, in ſome degree, of the uncleanlineſs and ſtupidity of the animals they keep. They have inſtituted a badge of diſtinction, with which they honour thoſe who have ſubdued any of the monſters that are deſtructive to their ſheepfolds. The apotheoſis of Hercules had no other origin.

It would be a difficult matter to deſcribe the language of theſe ſavages with the characters we make uſe of. It is a kind of warbling, compoſed of whiſtlings, and other extraordinary ſounds, which have ſcarcely any affinity to our's.

The fabulous accounts, which ſay that the women of this nation have a fleſhy apron, falling down from the middle of the belly, over the parts of generation, are at length diſcredited. It has been certified, that theſe women are formed nearly in the ſame manner as we ſee many others in hot climates, where the external organs, both upwards and all round, acquire a larger ſize, and a more extended ſhape than in temperate climates. But it is very certain, and has often been obſerved, that the Hottentot men have but one teſticle.

The ſame views of utility, and the preſence of the ſame dangers, inſpire mankind with the ſame ideas, both in the depth of foreſts, and in the midſt of ſociety. It is not clear even whether this obſervation ought not to be extended to animals. Birds have a warble that is peculiar to them; and which is of another kind, when they are to watch over their own preſervation, or that of their young. It is a matter we are ignorant of, whether theſe ſignals, as temporary as the wants that occaſion them, are, or are not, the conſequence of reflection. But it is certain that they are in them, as well as in us, the effects of concern, fear, and anger; and that habit makes them appear ſuch to each other. Thus it is that, in political revolutions, the conſpirators have a ſignal by which they

know each other; notwithſtanding the tumult that prevails, and in the midſt of the confuſion.. It is a croſs, a feather, a ſcarf, or a riband; it is an exclamation, a word, or the ſound of an inſtrument, which awakens thoſe to whom it is addreſſed; while it leaves thoſe who have not the key of it, involved in ſleep and ſecurity.

Such was, according to all probability, the firſt origin of moſt of the ſingular cuſtoms we find among ſavages, and even among civilized nations. They were diſtinguiſhing characters of the clan to which they belonged, and marks by which they knew each other. The circumciſion of the Jews and Mohammedans was perhaps adopted with the ſame view as flat noſes, flattened and oblong heads, hanging and bored ears, or as the figures traced upon the ſkin, the marks made with burning inſtruments, the long and ſhort heads of hair, and the mutilation of certain members among other nations. By the amputation of the prepuce, one Jew or Mohammedan diſcovers himſelf to another; and by that of the teſticle, one Hottentot certifies to another that he is of the ſame nation. And why ſhould not theſe diſtinctions have been deſtined to tranſmit the ſentiment either of hatred or friendſhip, or the conformity of religious worſhip; to perpetuate the memory of a benefit or of an injury, or to recommend to one claſs of men the purſuit of vengeance, or the returns of gratitude towards another claſs?

The more the ſtate of man ſhall be reduced to that of a wandering people, the more will theſe tokens be uſeful. Let us ſuppoſe two individuals, who ſhall have had no kind of intercourſe with each other in their own country, meeting together in a diſtant climate. They immediately recogniſe one another, addreſs each other with mutual confidence, embrace, communicate their reciprocal ſufferings, pleaſures, or wants, and lend each other aſſiſtance. Legiſlators, anxious of keeping the nations they had civilized ſeparate from the barbarous people that ſurrounded them, and apprehend-

BOOK II.

king that, in proceſs of time, they might ſtill be confounded with the general maſs, have placed theſe ſigns under the ſanction of the gods. The ſavages have made them as permanent as poſſible, as much by the degree of conſideration they attach to them, as by the violence they have conſtantly done to nature. Thus it is that the uncivilized world, having no fixed ſyſtem of education, aſſociation, and morality, have ſupplied the want of them by univerſal habits. The diſpoſition of the climate determined the choice of theſe. The children of nature were ſubjected, without ſuſpecting it, to a ſingular kind of authority, which governed without oppreſſing them; and thus it is that the Hottentots aſſumed the manners of herdſmen.

But it may be aſked, Whether theſe Hottentots are happy? And in return I ſhall aſk, Where is the man ſo prejudiced in favour of the advantages of our ſocial inſtitutions, and ſo great a ſtranger to our ſufferings, as not ſometimes to return in idea into the midſt of the foreſts, or at leaſt to envy the happineſs, innocence, and tranquillity of a patriarchal life? This is exactly the life of the Hottentot. Are you fond of liberty? He is free. Are you deſirous of health? He knows no other illneſs but old age. Are you delighted with virtues? He has inclinations which he ſatisfies without remorſe, but is a ſtranger to vice. I know very well that you will ſeparate yourſelves with diſguſt from a man wrapped up, as it were, in the entrails of animals. Do ye think then, that the corruption in which ye are plunged, your hatred, your perfidy, and your duplicity, are not more diſguſting to my reaſon, than the uncleanlineſs of the Hottentots is diſguſting to your ſenſes?

You ſmile with contempt upon the ſuperſtitions of the Hottentots. But do not your prieſts poiſon your minds in your infancy with prejudices which torment you during life; which ſow diviſions in your families, and arm your countries againſt each other? Your anceſtors, have they not deſtroyed each other ſeveral times in defence of incomprehenſible queſtions? Theſe

times of frenzy will return, and ye will maſſacre each other again.

You are proud of your knowledge; but of what uſe is it to you; or of what ſervice would it be to the Hottentots? Is it then of ſo much importance to know how to ſpeak of virtue without practiſing it? What obligation would the ſavage have to you when you have made him acquainted with arts, without which he is contented; with branches of induſtry, which can only ſerve to multiply his wants and his labours; or with laws, from which he cannot expect greater ſecurity than you yourſelves enjoy?

If, however, when you had landed upon theſe ſhores, your deſign had been to lead the Hottentot into a more civilized kind of life, or to inſtil manners into him which you thought preferable to your own, there would be ſome excuſe for you. But you have made a deſcent upon his country, merely to deprive him of it. You have come near to his hut with the only view of driving him out of it; or, if it were in your power, of putting him in the place of the animal who ploughs the ground under the laſh of the farmer's whip: your only intention has been to reduce him ſtill nearer to the condition of a brute, and to ſatisfy your avarice.

Fly, unhappy Hottentots, fly! and hide yourſelves in the depths of your foreſts! the wild beaſts that inhabit them are leſs formidable than the monſters under whoſe empire you are going to fall. The tyger may perhaps tear you in pieces, but he will take nothing but your life away. The others will rob you of your innocence and of your liberty. Or, if you feel yourſelves animated with a ſufficient ſhare of courage, take up your axes, bend your bows, and ſend a ſhower of poiſoned darts againſt theſe ſtrangers. May there not be one of them remaining to convey to his countrymen the news of their diſaſter!

But, alas! you harbour no miſtruſt, and do not know them; for mildneſs appears in their countenances. Their behaviour beſpeaks an affability which will impoſe upon you. How, indeed, ſhould you not

BOOK II. be deceived by it, ſince it is a ſnare to themſelves? Truth ſeems to dwell upon their lips. When they addreſs you, they will bend the body, and keep one hand upon their breaſts, while they extend the other towards heaven, or offer it to you in token of amity. Their attitude will be that of benevolence; their look that of humanity: but cruelty and treachery reign in the bottom of their hearts. They will overturn your huts; they will ſeize upon your cattle; they will corrupt your wives; they will ſeduce your daughters. You muſt either agree with their extravagant opinions, or they will maſſacre you without mercy; for they believe that the man who does not think as they do, is unworthy to live. Make haſte, therefore, and lay yourſelves in ambuſh for them; and, when they ſhall bend before you in a ſuppliant and perfidious manner, pierce them to the heart. You are not to addreſs them with repreſentations of juſtice, which they will not liſten to; but you muſt ſpeak to them with your arrows; for Riebeck approaches, and now is the time. This man will not, perhaps, do you all the miſchief which I announce; but this feigned moderation will not be imitated by his ſucceſſors. And you, barbarous Europeans, be not incenſed at this harangue. It will neither be heard by the Hottentot, nor by the inhabitant of thoſe regions which ſtill remain for you to lay waſte. If you ſhould be offended at my words, it is becauſe you are not more humane than your predeceſſors; it is becauſe you perceive in the hatred I have avowed againſt them that which I entertain againſt you.

Riebeck, in conformity to the notions unhappily prevailing among the Europeans, began to take poſſeſſion of the moſt commodious part of the territory, and thought afterwards of fixing himſelf there. This behaviour diſpleaſed the natives. *On what pretence,* ſaid their envoy to theſe ſtrangers, *have you ſown our lands? Why do you employ them to feed your cattle? How would you behave if you ſaw your own fields invaded in this manner? You fortify yourſelves with no*

other view than to reduce the Hottentots to ſlavery. Theſe remonſtrances were followed by ſome hoſtilities. The Dutch, who were not yet ſufficiently powerful, quieted the natives with many promiſes, and a few preſents. All was pacified; and they afterwards enjoyed their uſurpation with tranquillity.

It has been proved that the Company expended, in the courſe of twenty years, forty-ſix thouſand millions of livres [1,916,666l. 13s. 4d.] in raiſing the colony to its preſent ſtate.

It is the fineſt ſettlement in the world, if we give credit to the teſtimony of moſt ſeamen, who, after the fatigues of a long voyage, are eaſily ſeduced by the convenience they find in this celebrated harbour, where they put in for refreſhment. Let us examine whether reflection will confirm theſe encomiums dictated by enthuſiaſm.

The Cape of Good Hope, the latitudes of which are ſo ſtormy, terminates the moſt ſouthern point of Africa. At the diſtance of ſixteen leagues from this famous mountain, there is a peninſula formed on the north ſide by Table-Bay, and on the ſouth by Falſe-Bay. It is at the firſt of theſe bays, which are only ſeparated from each other by an interval of nine thouſand toiſes, that all the ſhips put in during the greateſt part of the year: but from the 20th of May to the 20th of September, the road is ſo dangerous, and ſo many misfortunes have happened in it, that the Dutch veſſels are forbidden to anchor there. They all go to the other bay, which is entirely free from danger during this ſeaſon of the year.

The ſky of the Cape would be very agreeable, if the winds there were not almoſt always continual, and commonly violent. The kind of inconvenience ariſing from this circumſtance is removed by the delicious temperature which theſe winds bring on, in a climate which, conſidering its latitude, ſhould be intolerably hot. The air of this country is ſo pure, that it is conſidered as an almoſt ſovereign remedy againſt moſt of the diſeaſes brought from Europe, and not unſervice-

BOOK II.

able againſt thoſe contracted in India. The inhabitants are ſubject to few infirmities. It was even a long while before the ſmall-pox made its way into this country. This epidemic diſeaſe, which is ſaid to have been brought by a Daniſh veſſel, made great ravages at firſt, which are ſtill renewed at intervals.

The ſoil in this ſettlement is not ſo good as it has been reported to be. The Dutch, on their arrival, found nothing but immenſe heaths, ſome ſhrubs, and a kind of onion, which, when roaſted, taſtes like a cheſnut, and has been called the bread of the Hottentots. Wherever the periodical fall of theſe plants had not depoſited a thick ſediment, the earth was no more than a barren ſand. All attempts to make it fruitful have not been attended with ſucceſs, even in the vicinity of the capital, where every encouragement has been given to them. If we except a few valleys, into which the waters have drawn down the little quantity of earth that covered the mountains, the inland parts of the country are not more fertile; and there is ſtill leſs water to be found there than on the coaſts, where a rivulet or a ſpring are rarely to be met with. From hence it happens, that although the colony be not numerous, yet the inhabitants are ſcattered over an extent of one hundred and fifty leagues along the ſea coaſt, and of near fifty leagues up the country.

The town of the Cape, the only one which is in the colony, conſiſts of about a thouſand houſes, all built of brick, and thatched, on account of the violence of the winds. The ſtreets are wide, interſecting each other at right angles; and in the principal ſtreet there is a canal, with a row of trees planted on each ſide of it. In a more ſequeſtered part of the town there is another canal; but it has ſo great a degree of obliquity, that the ſluices almoſt touch each other.

At the extremity of the city is the ſo much celebrated garden of the Company, which is from eight to nine hundred toiſes in length, and is watered by a ſtream. To protect the plants in it againſt the winds, each plot has been ſurrounded with oaks cut in the form of pa-

liſades, except in the centre avenue, where they are allowed to grow to their full height. Theſe trees, though only of a moderate ſize, form a delightful view in a country where little wood, even underwood, is to be ſeen, and where the people are obliged to bring all their timber from Batavia. The greateſt part of the garden is filled with vegetables. In the ſmall ſpot dedicated to botanic purpoſes there are but few plants. The menagerie adjoining to the garden is equally defective: it formerly contained a great number of birds and quadrupeds unknown in our climates.

The country places bordering on the capital are chiefly covered with vines, the produce of which is almoſt certain in a climate where neither hail nor froſt are to be apprehended. It ſhould ſeem, that, under a ſerene ſky, and in a ſandy ſoil, with the facility of chooſing the beſt aſpects, a moſt exquiſite kind of wine ought to be obtained. But whether it be owing to the fault of the climate, or the neglect of the cultivators, the wine here is of a very inferior quality, if we except a dry, ſharp, and agreeable kind of wine, that comes originally from Madeira, and is conſumed by the richeſt of the inhabitants. That ſort which is known in Europe by the name of Conſtantia, and of which there is ſome white and ſome red, is only collected from a territory of fifteen acres, and furniſhed by vines formerly brought from Perſia. To increaſe the quantity, it is mixed with a tolerable good kind of Muſcadine wine, that is produced from neighbouring vineyards. Part of it is given up to the Company at a price fixed by themſelves; the reſt is ſold to any perſon who offers to purchaſe, at twelve hundred livres [50l.] the hogſhead.

Corn is cultivated at a greater diſtance from the Cape. It is always plentiful, and at a moderate price, on account of the facility of preparing the ſoil, the quantity of manure, and the cuſtom of leaving the land quiet.

At forty or fifty leagues from the harbour no more cultivation is to be ſeen. At a greater diſtance than

BOOK II.

this it would not be poſſible to convey the proviſions with advantage. Here the country is covered only with numerous flocks, which are brought up to the capital of the colony two or three times a-year. They are exchanged for ſome merchandiſe, either of primary neceſſity, or merely articles of luxury brought from Europe and the Indies. The peaceful inhabitants of theſe ſequeſtered regions are but little acquainted with the uſe of bread, and generally feed upon freſh or ſalt meats, together with ſome vegetables, which are as well flavoured at this extremity of Africa as in our countries. Our fruits, which for the moſt part have not degenerated, are another reſource to them. They derive leſs advantage from the vegetables of Aſia, which do not ſucceed there; and ſome of which, even ſuch as ſugar and coffee, it has never been poſſible to naturalize.

When the Company formed their ſettlement at the Cape, they aſſigned gratuitouſly to each of the firſt coloniſts a portion of land of one league ſquare. Theſe grants, and others which were afterwards made, have ſince been loaded with a tax at every change of proprietor.

This innovation is not the only thing the coloniſts have to reproach the mother-country with; they alſo complain of the low price it fixes upon proviſions which it requires for its own uſe, and of the reſtraints with which it impedes the ſale of thoſe productions which it does not keep. They complain of the fees granted to ſeveral officers upon every commodity ſold in the country or exported. They complain of their being prohibited from fitting out the leaſt veſſel for the purpoſe of keeping up a communication among themſelves, or of going to fetch from the neighbouring coaſts thoſe woods with which nature has not ſupplied them. They complain of their being reduced by a number of formalities, as multiplied as they are uſeleſs, to the neceſſity of borrowing the money they want for the increaſe of their plantations at a moſt exorbitant intereſt. They complain, that, being moſt

of them Lutherans, they are not allowed to procure the comforts of religion for themſelves, at their own expence. In a word, they make a variety of other complaints; which are all upon matters of conſequence, and the greateſt part of which appear to be well-founded.

Theſe grievances ought the more ſpeedily to be redreſſed, the more reſpectable the coloniſts are. Their manners are ſimple, even in the capital. No kind of public diverſion is known there; no gaming is practiſed; viſits are but ſeldom made; and the people talk but little. The women delight only in contributing to the happineſs of their huſbands, their children, their ſervants, and even their ſlaves.

While they devote their time to theſe tender cares, the huſbands are entirely taken up with their buſineſs abroad. In the evening, when the high winds have ſubſided, the whole family together go to take the exerciſe of a walk, and to breathe the freſh air. The life of one day is that of the whole week; and yet this uniformity is not found to ſubtract from their happineſs.

There is one trait worthy of obſervation in the manners of this colony, and this is, that the moſt charming inſtance of the candour of the primitive ages is revived here. When a young woman forms an attachment, ſhe ſoon makes a fair avowal of the delightful impreſſion. Love, ſhe ſays, is a natural paſſion, which is to make the pleaſure of her life, and indemnify her for the dangers of being a mother. The man who has had the happineſs to ſecure her affections, is publicly favoured, if his ſentiments correſpond with thoſe which he has inſpired. In theſe ſacred and voluntary ties, which have not been formed by motives of ambition, avarice, or vanity, confidence and tenderneſs are united; and theſe two ſentiments in ſimple, calm, and ſteady minds, produce an union which is very ſeldom affected by any ſeries of years or of events.

The colony, which has no more than ſeven hundred regular troops for its defence, computes among its in-

BOOK II.

habitants fifteen thouſand Europeans, Dutch, Germans, and French, the fourth part of which is able to bear arms. This number would have been increaſed, if ſome fatal prejudices of religion had not diſcouraged a multitude of unfortunate perſons, who were diſpoſed to go in ſearch of eaſe and plenty in theſe happy climates. It is not to be conceived, that a republic which has admitted, with ſo much ſucceſs, all kinds of religious worſhip into its provinces, ſhould have ſuffered a company, formed within its own dominions, to convey this odious ſpirit of intoleration acroſs the ſeas. If the government ever has the reſolution to ſuppreſs an abuſe ſo contrary to its own principles, the colony will be peopled in proportion to the means of ſubſiſtence it affords; and in that caſe the yoke of ſlavery may be aboliſhed without inconvenience, which, though it be leſs oppreſſive here than any where elſe, is ſtill a degradation of the human ſpecies.

The ſlaves are forty or fifty thouſand in number. Some of them have been purchaſed on the coaſt of Africa or at Madagaſcar, others come from the Malays iſlands. They have the ſame food as their maſters, and are employed in the ſame labours. Of all the European ſettlements made in other parts of the world, this is perhaps the only one, where the white men have condeſcended to ſhare with the negroes, the happy, noble, and virtuous occupations of peaceful agriculture.

If the Hottentots could have adopted this kind of taſte, it would have been a very advantageous circumſtance to the colony: but the ſmall herds of theſe Africans that had remained within the boundaries of the Dutch ſettlements, were all deſtroyed in the year 1713 by an epidemic diſeaſe. There were but very few families who eſcaped the dreadful effects of this contagious diſtemper; and theſe are of ſome uſe for the keeping of the flocks, and for domeſtic ſervices. The more powerful clans, which dwelt on the borders of the rivers, in the neighbourhood of the foreſts, or on lands abounding with paſture, having been obliged

ſucceſſively to abandon the tombs and dwellings of their anceſtors, have all removed at a diſtance from the frontiers of their oppreſſors. The injuſtice they have experienced, has contributed greatly to increaſe the averſion they had for our labours. Theſe ſavages find an inexpreſſible charm in the indolent and independent life they lead in their deſerts. Nothing can wean them from it. One of their children was taken from the cradle, and inſtructed in our manners and religion: he was ſent to India, and uſefully employed in trade. Happening, by accident, to reviſit his country, he went to ſee his relations in their hut. He was ſtru : with the ſingularity that appeared there: he clothed himſelf with a ſheep-ſkin, and went to the fort to carry back his European dreſs. *I am come*, ſaid he to the governor, *to renounce for ever the mode of life you have taught me to embrace. I am reſolved to follow, till death, the manners and religion of my anceſtors. As a token of my affection, I will keep the collar and ſword you have given me: all the reſt you will permit me to leave behind.* He did not wait for an anſwer, but ran away, and was never heard of after.

Though the character of the Hottentots be not ſuch as the avarice of the Dutch could wiſh, yet the Company derive ſolid advantages from this colony. Indeed, the tenth part of the corn and wine, together with their cuſtoms and other duties, does not bring them in more than three hundred thouſand livres [12,500l.]. They do not gain more than one hundred thouſand [4166l. 13s. 4d.] by their woollen and linen cloths, their hardware, their coals, and other inconſiderable articles they ſell there. The expences neceſſarily attending ſo large a ſettlement, added to thoſe which corruption has introduced, take up more than all thoſe profits united. Accordingly, its utility ariſes from another cauſe.

The Dutch ſhips that ſail to and from India find a ſafe aſylum at the Cape; a delightful, ſerene, and temperate ſky; and learn every thing of importance that happens in both hemiſpheres. Here they take in but-

BOOK II.

ter, cheeſe, meal, wine, large quantities of pickled vegetables for their Aſiatic ſettlements, and, for ſome time paſt, even two or three cargoes of corn for Europe. Theſe conveniencies and reſources would ſtill be augmented, if the Company would at length lay aſide thoſe fatal prejudices with which it has always been miſled.

Till our days, the productions of the Cape have borne ſo low a price, that the planters were not able to clothe themſelves, nor to provide themſelves with any of thoſe neceſſaries which their ſoil did not ſupply. This depreciation of the proviſions aroſe from the coloniſts being forbidden to ſell them to foreign navigators, whom the convenience of their ſituation, the neceſſities of war, or other reaſons, might attract to their ports. But a ſpirit of jealouſy in trade, which is one of the greateſt evils that can befal mankind, had given riſe to this barbarous prohibition. The deſign of this odious ſyſtem was to inſpire other commercial nations with a diſguſt for India. There was no relief to be expected, but from government; and the adminiſtration, in order not to depart from its plan, always rated them at an exceſſive price. Even ſince the experience of a whole century has occaſioned theſe chimerical views to be relinquiſhed, and that the hope of keeping other people away from Aſia has been given up, the inhabitants of the Cape have not been allowed a free trade with reſpect to all their proviſions. Tulbagh, indeed, and ſome other enlightened governors, have given way upon this point, which has contributed to make the circumſtances of the people ſomewhat eaſier: but it has always been neceſſary either to bribe the mother-country into a compliance with theſe permiſſions, or to keep them a ſecret. Will the Company, then, never be convinced, that the riches of the coloniſts will, ſome time or other, become their own? If they ſhould adopt the ideas I have ventured to ſuggeſt to them, they will imitate the ſpirit of their founders, who did nothing by chance; and who did not wait for the happy events we have been

mentioning, to turn their attention towards the finding out of a place fit to ſerve as the centre of their power. For this purpoſe, they had caſt their eyes upon Java as early as the year 1609.

Dominions of the Dutch in the iſland of Java.

This iſland, which may be about two hundred leagues in length, and thirty or forty in breadth, appeared to have been conquered by the Malays, at a diſtant period. A very ſuperſtitious ſpecies of Mohammediſm conſtituted the prevailing worſhip. Some idolaters were ſtill remaining in the interior parts of the country; and theſe were the only inhabitants of Java that were not arrived at the laſt ſtage of depravity. The iſland, which was formerly under the dominion of a ſingle monarch, was at that time divided among ſeveral ſovereigns, who were perpetually at war with each other. Theſe eternal diſſenſions, while they kept up a military ſpirit among the people, occaſioned a total neglect of manners. From their enmity to ſtrangers, and want of confidence among themſelves, it was evident, that no nation could have ever been more ſtrongly impreſſed with the ſentiment of hatred. Here men were wolves to each other, and ſeemed to unite in ſociety, more for the ſake of committing mutual injuries, than of affording mutual aſſiſtance. A Javaneſe never accoſted his brother, without having a poniard in his hand; ever watchful to prevent, or ready to perpetrate, ſome act of violence. The nobles had a great number of ſlaves, either bought, taken in war, or detained for debt, whom they treated with the utmoſt inhumanity. Theſe ſlaves were employed in cultivating the lands, and performing all kinds of hard labour; while the Javaneſe was amuſing himſelf with chewing betel, ſmoking opium, paſſing his life with his concubines, fighting, or ſleeping. Theſe people poſſeſſed a conſiderable ſhare of underſtanding, but retained few traces of any principles of morality. They had not ſo much the character of an unenlightened, as of a degenerated nation: in a word, they were a ſet of men, who, from a regular form of government, had fallen into a kind of anarchy; and

BOOK II.

gave themſelves up, without reſtraint, to the impetuous emotions which nature excites in theſe climates.

This depraved character of the inhabitants did not alter the views of the Dutch with reſpect to Java. Their Company might, indeed, be thwarted by the Engliſh, who were then in poſſeſſion of a part of the trade of this iſland. But this obſtacle was ſoon removed. The weakneſs of James the Firſt, and the corruption of his council, had ſo damped the ſpirits of theſe haughty Britons, that they ſuffered themſelves to be ſupplanted, without making thoſe efforts that might have been expected from their bravery. The natives of the country, deprived of this ſupport, were forced to ſubmit; but it required time, addreſs, and policy, to complete the conqueſt of them.

It had been one of the fundamental maxims of the Portugueſe, to perſuade thoſe princes they wanted to engage or retain in a ſtate of dependence, to ſend their children to Goa to be educated at the expence of the court of Liſbon, and initiated early into its manners and principles. But this, which was in itſelf a good project, was ſpoiled by the conquerors, who admitted theſe young people to a participation of the moſt criminal pleaſures, and the moſt ſhameful ſcenes of debauchery. The conſequence was, that, when theſe Indians arrived at the age of maturity, they could not help deteſting, or at leaſt deſpiſing ſuch abandoned inſtructors. The Dutch adopted the ſame plan, and improved upon it. They endeavoured to convince their pupils of the weakneſs, inconſtancy, and treachery of their ſubjects; and ſtill more of the power, wiſdom, and good faith of the Company. By this method, they ſtrengthened their uſurpations: but we are obliged to acknowledge, that, beſide theſe means, the Dutch had recourſe to others which were treacherous and cruel.

The government of the iſland, which was founded entirely on the feudal laws, ſeemed calculated to promote diſcord. Fathers and ſons turned their arms againſt each other. They ſupported the pretenſions

of the weak againſt the powerful, and of the powerful againſt the weak, as they ſaw occaſion. Sometimes they took the monarch's part, and ſometimes that of his vaſſals. If any perſon aſcended the throne, who was likely to become formidable by his talents, they raiſed up rivals to oppoſe him. Thoſe who were not to be ſeduced by gold or promiſes, were ſubdued by fear. Every day was productive of ſome revolution, which was always begun by the intrigues of the tyrants, and always ended to their advantage. At length, they became maſters of the moſt important poſts in the inland parts of the country, and of the forts that were built upon the coaſts.

This plan of uſurpation was but juſt ready to be carried into execution, when a governor was appointed at Java, who had a palace and guards, and appeared in great pomp. The Company thought proper to depart from the principles of economy they had hitherto adopted, from a perſuaſion that the Portugueſe had derived a great advantage from the brilliant court kept by the viceroy of Goa; that the people of the Eaſt were to be dazzled, in order to be the more eaſily ſubdued; and that it was neceſſary to ſtrike the imagination and the eyes of the Indians, who are guided more by their ſenſes than the inhabitants of our climates.

The Dutch had another reaſon for aſſuming an air of dignity. They had been repreſented in Aſia as pirates, without a country, without laws, and without a ruler. To ſilence theſe calumnies, they endeavoured to prevail with ſeveral ſtates adjoining to Java, to ſend ambaſſadors to Prince Maurice of the houſe of Orange.

The execution of this project procured them a double advantage, as at the ſame time that it increaſed their conſequence with the eaſtern nations, it alſo flattered the ambition of the Stadtholder, whoſe protection was neceſſary to be obtained, for reaſons which we are going to explain.

When the Company obtained their excluſive privilege, the Straits of Magellan, which could have no

BOOK II.

connection with the Eaſt Indies, were improperly enough included in the grant. Iſaac Lemaire, one of thoſe rich and enterpriſing merchants who ought every where to be conſidered as the benefactors of their country, formed the project of penetrating into the South Sea by the ſouthern coaſts; ſince he was precluded, by the only track that was known at that time, from going there. In the year 1615, he fitted out two ſhips, which paſſed a ſtrait, ſince called by his name, running between Cape Horn and Staten Land; and were driven by accident to the coaſt of Java, where they were condemned, and the crew ſent priſoners to Europe.

This tyrannical proceeding gave offence to the people, already prejudiced againſt an excluſive commerce. It was thought abſurd, that, inſtead of giving thoſe who attempted diſcoveries the encouragement they deſerved, a ſtate, purely commercial, ſhould forge ſhackles to confine their induſtry. The monopoly, which the avarice of individuals had endured with impatience, became more odious, when the Company ſtretched the conceſſions that had been made them beyond their due bounds. It was found, that, as their pride and influence increaſed with their power, the intereſt of the nation would at length be ſacrificed to the intereſt, or even to the caprice of this formidable body. It is probable, that they muſt have ſunk under the public reſentment; and that their charter, which was near expiring, would not have been renewed, if they had not been ſupported by Prince Maurice, favoured by the States-General, and encouraged to brave the ſtorm by the ſtrength they derived from their ſettlement at Java.

Though the tranquillity of this iſland may have been diſturbed by various commotions, ſeveral wars, and ſome conſpiracies, it continues to be as much in ſubjection to the Dutch as they wiſh it to be.

Bantam comprehends the weſtern part. One of its ſovereigns having reſigned the crown to his ſon, was reſtored to the throne in 1680, by the natural reſtleſſ-

neſs of his temper, the bad conduct of his ſucceſſor, and a powerful faction. His party was on the point of prevailing, when the young monarch, beſieged in his capital by an army of thirty thouſand men, without any adherents, except the companions of his debaucheries, implored the protection of the Dutch. They flew to his aſſiſtance, beat his enemies, delivered him from his rival, and re-eſtabliſhed his authority. Though the expedition was ſpeedy, ſhort, and rapid, and, conſequently, could not be expenſive, it was contrived to make the charges of the war amount to a prodigious ſum. The ſituation of things would not admit of a ſcrutiny into the ſum demanded for ſo great a ſervice, and the exhauſted ſtate of the finances made it impoſſible to diſcharge it. In this dilemma, this weak prince determined to entail ſlavery on himſelf and his deſcendants, by granting to his deliverers the excluſive trade of his dominions. BOOK II.

The Company maintain this great privilege with three hundred and ſixty-eight men, who are ſtationed in two bad forts, one of which ſerves as a habitation for the governor, and the other as a palace for the king. The expences of this ſettlement amount to no more than 110,000 livres [4583l. 6s. 8d.], which are regained upon the merchandiſe ſold there. Their clear profits conſiſt of what they gain upon three millions weight of pepper, which they oblige the inhabitants to ſell at twenty-eight livres three ſols [1l. 3s. 5½d.] a hundred.

Theſe profits are inconſiderable, in compariſon of what the Company receives from Cheribon, which it ſubdued without any efforts, without intrigues, and without expence. The Dutch were ſcarce ſettled at Java, when the ſultan of this narrow, but very fertile ſtate, put himſelf under their protection, to avoid ſubmitting to a neighbouring prince more powerful than himſelf. He ſells them annually three millions three hundred thouſand pounds weight of rice, at twenty-five livres twelve ſols [1l. 4s. 4d.] per thouſand; ſugar, the fineſt of which coſts fifteen livres ſix ſols

BOOK II.

eight deniers [about 12s. 9½d.] a hundred; one million two hundred thouſand pounds of coffee, at four ſols four deniers [about 2¼d.] a pound; one hundred quintals of pepper, at five ſols two deniers [rather more than 2½d.] a pound; thirty thouſand pounds weight of cotton, the fineſt of which coſts only one livre eleven ſols four deniers [about 1s. 3¼d.] a pound; and ſix hundred thouſand pounds of areca, at thirteen livres four ſols [11s.] the hundred. Although the fixing of theſe prices at ſo low a rate be a manifeſt impoſition upon the weakneſs of the inhabitants, the people of Cheribon, who are the moſt gentle and civilized of any in the iſland, have never been provoked by this injuſtice to take up arms. A hundred Europeans are ſufficient to keep them in ſubjection. The expences of this ſettlement amount to no more than 45,100 livres [1879l. 3s. 4d.], which are gained upon the linens imported there.

The empire of Mataram, which formerly extended over the whole iſland, and at preſent takes up the greateſt part of it, was the laſt that was reduced to ſubjection. Often vanquiſhed, and ſometimes vanquiſhing, it continued its ſtruggles for independency, when the ſon and brother of a ſovereign who died in 1704, diſputed the ſucceſſion. The nation was divided between the two rivals; and the one who was entitled to the crown by order of ſucceſſion, had ſo viſibly the advantage, that he muſt ſoon have got the ſupreme power entirely into his hands, if the Dutch had not declared in favour of his rival. The party eſpouſed by theſe republicans at length prevailed, after a ſeries of conteſts, more active, frequent, well-conducted, and obſtinate, than could have been expected. The young prince, whom they wanted to deprive of his ſucceſſion to the king, his father, diſplayed ſo much intrepidity, prudence, and firmneſs, that he would have triumphed over his enemies, had it not been for the advantage they derived from their magazines, forts, and ſhips. His uncle uſurped his throne, but ſhowed himſelf unworthy to fill it.

When the Company reſtored him to the crown, they dictated laws to him. They choſe the place where his court was to be fixed, and ſecured his attachment, by a citadel, in which a guard was maintained, with no other apparent view than to protect the prince. After all theſe precautions, they employed every artifice to full his attention by pleaſures, to gratify his avarice by preſents, and to flatter his vanity by pompous embaſſies. From this period, the prince and his ſucceſſors, who were educated ſuitably to the part they were to act, were nothing more than the deſpicable tools of the deſpotiſm of the Company. All that is neceſſary for the ſupport of this power, is three hundred horſe, and four hundred foot ſoldiers, whoſe maintenance, including the pay of the agents, coſts them 835,000 livres [34,791l. 13s. 4d.].

The Company are amply indemnified for this expence, by the advantages it ſecures to them. The harbours of this ſtate afford docks for the conſtruction of all the ſmall veſſels and ſloops employed in the Company's ſervice. They are ſupplied from hence with all the timber that is wanted in their ſeveral Indian ſettlements, and in part of their foreign colonies. Here, too, they load their veſſels with the productions which the kingdom is obliged to furniſh them; conſiſting of fifteen millions weight of rice, at ſeventeen livres twelve ſols [14s. 8d.] the thouſand; as much ſalt as they require, at ten livres ſeven ſols ten deniers [about 8s. 8d.] a thouſand; a hundred thouſand pounds of pepper, at twenty-one livres two ſols four deniers [about 17s. 7¼d.] a hundred; all the indigo that is collected, at three livres two ſols [2s. 8d.] a pound; cadjang, for the uſe of their ſhips, at twenty-eight livres three ſols two deniers [near 1l. 3s. 6d.] the thouſand; cotton yarn, from thirteen ſols, to one livre thirteen ſols [from about 7½d. to 1s. 5½d.] a pound, according to its quality; and the ſmall quantity of cardamom that is produced there, at a ſhameful price.

The Company, for a long time, diſdained to have

BOOK II.

any connections with Balambuan, ſituated at the eaſtern point of the iſland. There certainly appeared nothing that could lead them to think of reaping any advantage from this diſtrict. But whatever motive the Dutch may have had for it, they have lately attacked this country. After a ſeries of obſtinate engagements, and various ſucceſs, for the ſpace of two years, the European arms have at length prevailed, in 1768. The Indian prince, conquered and taken priſoner, has ended his days in the caſtle of Batavia; and his family have been embarked for the Cape of Good Hope, where they will terminate a wretched exiſtence, in Robben, or Penguin iſland.

We know not what uſe the conquerors have made of their conqueſt. Neither do we know what advantage they will derive from having dethroned the king of Madura, a fertile iſland adjoining to Mataram, in order to place his ſon there as governor. What we are unfortunately well acquainted with is, that, independent of the tyrannic ſway of the Company, all the people of Java labour under a ſtill more odious kind of oppreſſion from their agents. Theſe greedy and diſhoneſt men, commonly make uſe of falſe weights and meaſures, in order to procure a larger quantity of goods, or proviſions, from the people that are to furniſh them. This fraud, practiſed for their own private advantage, has not hitherto been puniſhed; and there is no reaſon to hope that it ever will be.

For the reſt, the Dutch having abated the turbulency of the Javaneſe, by gradually undermining the laws that maintained it; and ſatisfied with having forced them to give ſome attention to agriculture, and with having ſecured to themſelves a commerce perfectly excluſive, have not attempted to acquire any property in the iſland. Their territory extends no further than the ſmall kingdom of Jacatra. The ravages committed when this ſtate was conquered, and the tyranny that followed that conqueſt, had turned it into a deſert. It remained uncultivated and inactive.

The Dutch, thoſe of them in particular who go to India to ſeek their fortunes, were little qualified to recover this excellent ſoil from its exhauſted ſtate. It was ſeveral times propoſed to have recourſe to the Germans; and by the encouragement of ſome advances, and ſome gratuities, to exerciſe their induſtry in a manner the moſt advantageous to the Company. What theſe laborious people would have done in the fields, the ſilk manufacturers from China, and the linen-weavers from Coromandel might have executed in the workſhops, for the improvement of manufactures. As theſe uſeful projects did not favour any private views, they continued to be nothing more than projects. At length the governors-general Imhoff and Moſſel, ſtruck with a ſcene of ſuch great diſorder, endeavoured to find out a remedy.

With this view they ſold to the Chineſe and the Europeans, at a ſmall price, the lands which the government had acquired by oppreſſive means. This management has not produced all the good that was expected from it. The new proprietors have devoted moſt part of their land to the feeding of ſheep and cattle, for which they have an eaſy, free, and advantageous market. Their induſtry would have been engaged in more important objects, had not the Company required, that all the productions ſhould be ceded to them at the ſame price as in the reſt of the iſland. The mother-country has reſtrained the cultivations to ten thouſand pounds weight of indigo, twenty-five thouſand pounds of cotton, one hundred and fifty thouſand pounds of pepper, ten millions weight of ſugar, and ſome other trifling articles.

Theſe commodities, as well as all thoſe that are produced in Java, are carried to Batavia, which is built on the ruins of the ancient capital of Jacatra, in the ſixth degree of ſouthern latitude.

A city which furniſhed ſo conſiderable a ſtaple, muſt have received many ſucceſſive embelliſhments. Nevertheleſs, if we except one church recently built, there is no kind of elegance or grandeur in any of the

BOOK II. edifices. The public buildings are in general heavy, and have neither beauty nor proportion. If the houſes be convenient, and diſtributed in a manner ſuitable to the nature of the climate, the fronts of them are too uniform, and built in a bad taſte. There is no part of the world where the ſtreets are more wide, or more regularly cut. They afford the foot-paſſengers, in every part of the town, a clean and firm pavement to walk upon. Moſt of them are interſected with canals, bordered on each ſide by ſtately trees, which ſpread a delightful ſhade; and theſe canals, which are all navigable, convey the proviſions and merchandiſe to the magazines deſtined for their reception. Although the heat, which ſhould naturally be exceſſive at Batavia, be allayed by a very agreeable ſea-breeze, which riſes every day at ten o'clock, and continues till four; and although the nights be cooled by land-breezes, which die away at day-break; yet the air is extremely unwholeſome in this capital of the Dutch Eaſt Indies, and becomes daily more ſo. It is proved by regiſters of indiſputable authority, that from the year 1714 to 1776, fourſcore and ſeven thouſand ſailors and ſoldiers have periſhed in the hoſpital only. We meet with ſcarce one among the inhabitants whoſe countenance bears the marks of perfect health. The features are never animated with lively colours. Beauty, which commands adoration ſo much in all other parts of the world, is here without motion, and lifeleſs. Death is talked of with as much indifference as in an army. If it be ſaid that a citizen who was in good health exiſts no more, no ſurpriſe is expreſſed at ſo ordinary an event. Avarice ſays no more than this: *he owed me nothing;* or elſe, *I muſt make his heirs pay me.*

We ſhall not be ſurpriſed at this defect of the climate, if we conſider that, for the convenience of navigation, Batavia has been fixed upon the borders of a ſea, which is the moſt ſalt of any in the world; in the midſt of a marſhy plain which is frequently overflowed; and along a great number of canals full of ſtagnated waters, covered with the filth of an immenſe

city, and ſurrounded by great trees, which impede the free circulation of the air, and prevent the diſperſion of the fetid vapours that ariſe from them.

In order to leſſen the danger and lothſomeneſs of theſe infectious exhalations, the inhabitants burn inceſſantly aromatic woods and reſins; they intoxicate themſelves with ſcents; and fill their apartments with numberleſs flowers, moſt of which are unknown in our climates. Even the bed-chambers are perfumed with the moſt delicate and pureſt eſſences. Theſe precautions are uſed even in the country places, where all the fields and all the gardens are ſurrounded with ſtagnant and unwholeſome waters; and yet they are not ſufficient to preſerve, much leſs to reſtore health. Accordingly, rich people have houſes built upon very high mountains, which terminate the plain, where they go ſeveral times in the year to breathe a freſh and ſalutary air. Notwithſtanding the volcanos that are ſeen conſtantly ſmoking on the tops of theſe mountains, and which occaſion frequent earthquakes, the ſick perſons ſoon recover their ſtrength, but loſe it again on their return to Batavia.

Notwithſtanding this, the population in this celebrated city is immenſe. Beſide the hundred and fifty thouſand ſlaves, diſperſed over an extenſive territory, devoted to agriculture, or labouring upon objects of mere ornament, there are ſeveral more employed in the town itſelf, and in domeſtic ſervices. Theſe were originally dependent men, moſt of whom have been carried off by force or artifice from the Moluccas, from Celebes, and from other iſlands. This atrocious act has filled their hearts with ſentiments of rage, and they never give up the deſire of poiſoning or aſſaſſinating their barbarous maſters.

The free Indians are leſs exaſperated; and are to be found there from all the countries ſituated to the eaſt of Aſia. Each of theſe people preſerve the kind of phyſiognomy that is peculiar to them; their colour, their dreſs, their cuſtoms, their mode of worſhip, and their induſtry: and they have each of them a chief,

BOOK II. who is watchful over their intereſts, and terminates all differences ſubverſive of public tranquillity. To keep ſuch a variety of nations in order, and which are ſo much in enmity with each other, ſome abominable laws have been made, which are carried into execution with mercileſs ſeverity. Theſe laws loſe their force only againſt the Europeans, who are ſeldom puniſhed, and ſcarce ever with capital puniſhments.

Among theſe ſeveral nations, the Chineſe deſerve our particular attention. For a long time paſt they had reſorted in multitudes to Batavia, where they had amaſſed immenſe riches; till, in 1740, being ſuſpected or accuſed of meditating projects fatal to the government, a horrid maſſacre was made of them, either with a view of puniſhing them, or of appropriating their riches. As theſe Chineſe who quit their country are the meaneſt of all the ſubjects of that celebrated empire, this unjuſt and unmerited treatment, has not withdrawn them from a ſettlement where there are ſuch conſiderable profits to be made; and it is reckoned that there are about two hundred thouſand of them ſtill remaining in the colony. They follow there, almoſt excluſively, every branch of induſtry. They are the only good cultivators, and ſuperintend all the manufactures. Although they are ſo publicly and ſo extenſively uſeful, they are ſtill ſubjected to a heavy poll-tax, and to other tributes ſtill more humiliating. A flag fixed upon an eminence is the ſignal that gives them notice every month of the obligations they have to fulfil. If they neglect any one of them, a conſiderable fine is the leaſt of the penalties inflicted upon them.

There may be about ten thouſand white men in the city. Four thouſand of theſe, who are born in India, have degenerated to an inconceivable degree. This degradation is chiefly to be attributed to the cuſtom generally received, of leaving the care of their education to ſlaves.

Notwithſtanding the prodigious quanity of inſects, more lothſome than dangerous, with which the coun-

try is covered, moſt of theſe white men lead a delicious life, at leaſt in appearance. Pleaſures of all kinds ſucceed each other, with a degree of rapidity which it is not eaſy to follow. Beſide what can be furniſhed towards gratifying the delicacy of the palate, from a ſoil abounding in productions of its own, or which art has naturalized, the tables are alſo profuſely ſpread with every thing moſt ſcarce and exquiſite that Europe and Aſia can ſupply. The moſt coſtly wines are prodigally laviſhed. Even the waters of the iſland, which are reckoned, not without reaſon, unwholeſome and diſagreeable, are replaced by the Seltzer waters, brought at a conſiderable expence from the fartheſt part of Germany.

A ſpirit of diſſipation ſo univerſally prevailing among a people who, in other parts of the world are found ſo frugal and laborious, ſeems to announce a boundleſs degree of corruption; yet there is ſcarce more freedom of manners at Batavia than in the other eſtabliſhments formed by the Europeans in the Eaſt Indies. Perhaps even the ties of marriage are held in greater reſpect here than elſewhere. None but unmarried men allow themſelves to keep concubines, who are moſt frequently ſlaves. The prieſts have endeavoured to ſtop the progreſs of theſe connections, which are always ſecret, by refuſing to baptize the children that ſpring from them; but they are become leſs rigid, ſince a carpenter belonging to the Company, who choſe his ſon ſhould be of ſome religion or other, took the reſolution to have him circumciſed.

Luxury has maintained its ground ſtill more ſucceſsfully than concubinage. The ladies, who are univerſally ambitious of diſtinguiſhing themſelves by the richneſs of their dreſs, and the magnificence of their equipage, have carried this taſte for parade to exceſs. They never appear in public without a numerous train of ſlaves; and are either drawn in magnificent cars, or are carried in ſuperb palanquins. In 1758, the Company attempted to reſtrain their paſſion for jewels. Theſe regulations were received with contempt.

BOOK II.

It would, indeed, have been an extraordinary ſingularity, if the uſe of jewels had been diſcontinued in the country where they are produced; and if the merchants had ſucceeded in regulating at the Indies a ſpecies of luxury which they bring from thence, with a view of diffuſing or increaſing it in this part of the world.

It is in vain that the force and example of an European government are made to contend with the laws and manners of the climate of Aſia.

We find, however, ſome traces of the character of the Dutch in the country places. It is impoſſible to ſee any thing more agreeable than the environs of Batavia. They are covered with neat and agreeable villas; with kitchen gardens filled with vegetables, much ſuperior to thoſe of our climates; with orchards, the various fruits of which have an exquiſite flavour; with groves that yield an agreeable ſhade; and with gardens finely ornamented, and even with taſte. It is the faſhion to reſide there conſtantly; and the people in office ſcarce ever go to the city, unleſs to tranſact public buſineſs.

The roads leading to theſe delightful retreats are wide, ſmooth, eaſy, and bordered with trees, planted in a ſtraight line, and cut with regularity.

Batavia is ſituated at the bottom of a deep bay, containing ſeveral iſlands of a middling ſize, which break the impetuoſity of the ſea. It is, properly ſpeaking, a road; but is as ſafe a retreat from all winds, and in all ſeaſons, as the beſt harbour. The ſhips which come in and go out from hence receive part of their cargoes, and get the neceſſary repairs at the ſmall iſland of Ornuſt, which is only at two leagues diſtance, and where docks and magazines are formed. Sixty years ago theſe veſſels came up the river, which empties itſelf into the ſea, after having fertilized the lands and refreſhed the city. It is no longer acceſſible to any thing but boats, ſince a bank of mud has been formed at its mouth, which becomes every day more difficult to be got over. This is ſaid to be the conſequence of

the practice adopted by all rich men, of turning the current of the river, in order that they may ſurround their country houſes with water. Whatever may be the cauſe of this misfortune, it is neceſſary to employ the moſt effectual means to remedy it. The importance of Batavia renders it well worth while to pay a ſerious attention to every thing that may contribute to the improvement and utility of its road, for it is the moſt conſiderable place in India.

All the veſſels ſent out by the Company from Europe to Aſia touch at Batavia, except thoſe which go directly to Ceylon, to Bengal, and to China. They are laden in return with the productions and merchandiſe ſupplied by Java, and with all thoſe that have been brought there from the different factories and markets ſcattered throughout theſe rich coaſts, or over theſe immenſe ſeas. The Dutch ſettlements in the Eaſt are places which, on account of their ſituation, their proviſions, and their wants, keep up the moſt briſk and conſtant intercourſe with Batavia. Beſide the ſhips ſent by government, there are many private veſſels that arrive there. But theſe muſt be furniſhed with paſſports. Any of them that ſhould neglect this precaution, which was contrived to prevent fraudulent trade, would be ſeized by the ſloops that are continually cruiſing in theſe latitudes. When they arrive at the place of their deſtination, they deliver to the Company thoſe articles of lading which it has reſerved the excluſive trade of to itſelf, and diſpoſe of the reſt to whom they chooſe. The ſlave-trade conſtitutes one of the principal branches of the free commerce; it conſiſts annually of ſix thouſand of both ſexes. It is from this baſe and wretched ſet of women that the Chineſe chooſe their wives, whom they are not permitted to bring along with them, nor to ſend for from their country.

To theſe articles of importation may be added thoſe brought by a dozen of Chineſe junks from Emoy, Limpo, and Canton; with about two thouſand Chi-

BOOK II.

neſe on board, who come every year to Java, in hopes of acquiring riches. The tea, the china, the raw ſilks, and the ſilk ſtuffs and cottons they bring there, may amount to three millions of livres [125,000]. Tin and pepper are given them in exchange, but clandeſtinely, becauſe private perſons are prohibited from trading in theſe articles. They alſo receive tripam, gathered on the borders of the ſea at the Moluccas; as likewiſe ſharks fins and ſtags pizzles: the virtues of which, whether real or imaginary, are unknown in our countries. Another article they get in exchange is thoſe birds neſts ſo much celebrated all over the Eaſt, which are found in ſeveral places, and chiefly on the coaſts of Cochin-China. Theſe neſts are of an oval ſhape, an inch high, three inches round, and weigh half an ounce. They are formed by a ſpecies of the ſwallow; its head, breaſt, and wings, are of a fine blue, and its body milk white. Theſe birds make their neſts of the ſpawn of fiſh, or of a glutinous froth which the agitation of the ſea leaves upon the rocks, to which they are faſtened at the bottom and on the ſide. The taſte of them is naturally inſipid; but as they are thought to increaſe the paſſion for women, which prevails univerſally in theſe regions, art has endeavoured, and perhaps with ſucceſs, to render them agreeable to the palate by varieties of ſeaſoning.

Beſide theſe productions, the Chineſe at Batavia receive alſo ſome ready money. This ſum is always increaſed by the remittances which their fellow-citizens ſettled at Java ſend to the families they have a regard for, and by the wealth, ſtill more conſiderable, which ſooner or later is amaſſed by thoſe, who, ſatisfied with the fortune they have made, return to their own country, of which they ſeldom loſe ſight.

The Spaniards from the Philippine iſlands alſo frequent Batavia. Formerly they bought linens there. They take nothing at preſent from thence but cinnamon for their home conſumption, and for the purpoſe of ſupplying part of Mexico. They pay for this im-

portant article with gold, which is one of the productions of theſe ſame iſlands, and with the cochineal and plantes brought from Acapulco. BOOK II.

The French ſeldom go to Batavia in peace time, although the want of ſubſiſtence has often induced them to go there in the courſe of the two laſt wars. They will be ſeen there leſs frequently, when the iſle of France and Madagaſcar ſhall have been put into a condition to ſupply their fleets and armies.

Some of the Engliſh veſſels, which go directly from Europe to China, caſt anchor in this road, in order to ſell hardware, arms, wines, oils, and other leſs important articles, which all of them belong to the ſhips crews. Formerly, the Engliſh, who are employed in trading from one part of India to another, were alſo ſometimes ſeen to arrive there. The number of theſe is increaſed ſince their equipments have been multiplied; and their trade is become more conſiderable. The articles they ſell are trifling, but the purchaſes they make are conſiderable. Their lading conſiſts chiefly of large quantities of arrack, an exquiſite kind of liquor, made with rice, molaſſes, and cōcōa tree wine, which, after being fermented together, are diſtilled.

All the proviſions, and all the merchandiſe that come into or go out of Batavia, pay five per cent.; and theſe cuſtoms are farmed at one million nine hundred thouſand eight hundred livres [79,200l.]. This ſum would be more conſiderable, if the articles which belong to the Company, or which are deſigned for them, were ſubject to the taxes; if the chief agents of this powerful body did not moſt commonly elude the payments; and if frauds were leſs frequent among all ranks of people. There is one branch of the revenue which cannot but aſtoniſh us; it is that ariſing from games of chance. The Chineſe pay annually three hundred and eighty-four thouſand livres [16,000l.] for the privilege of opening them to the public. Multitudes of perſons reſort to them from all quarters, with that degree of eagerneſs ſo ordinary in burning

BOOK II.

climates, where the paſſions know no reſtraint. There it is that the greateſt part of men, at their own diſpoſal, go to bury their fortunes, and that all ſlaves go to ſquander what they have been able to purloin from the vigilance of their maſters. There are ſtill other taxes in this capital of the Dutch Eaſt Indies; but yet they are not ſufficient to cover the expences of this ſtaple, which amount almoſt regularly to ſix millions ſix hundred thouſand livres [275,000l.].

The manner of conducting the affairs of the Dutch Company in India and in Europe.

The council which preſides over all the ſettlements formed by the Company, is reſident at Batavia. It is compoſed of the governor of the Dutch Indies, of a director-general, or five judges, and of a ſmall number of aſſiſtants, who have no votes, and only ſupply the place of the deceaſed judges till their ſucceſſors are appointed.

The power of nomination to theſe offices is veſted in the direction at home. They are open to all who have money, and to all who are related to or protected by the governor-general. Upon his death, the director and the judges proviſionally appoint a ſucceſſor, who ſeldom fails to be confirmed in his appointment. If he were not, he would no more be admitted into the council, but would enjoy all the honours attached to the poſt he had filled during a temporary vacancy.

The governor-general reports to the council the ſtate of affairs in the iſland of Java; and each judge that of the province intruſted to his care. The director has the inſpection of the cheſt and magazines at Batavia, which ſupply the reſt of the ſettlements. All purchaſes and ſales are directed by him. His ſignature is indiſpenſably neceſſary in all commercial tranſactions.

Though all points ought to be decided in the council by a majority of votes, yet the will of the governor-general is ſeldom contradicted. This influence is owing to the deference paid him by thoſe members who are indebted to him for their elevation, and to the neceſſity the others are under of courting his favour, in order that they may make their fortunes more rapid-

ly. If on any occaſion he ſhould meet with an oppoſition too repugnant to his views, he would be at liberty to purſue his own meaſures, by taking the reſponſibility of them upon himſelf.

The governor-general, like all the reſt of the officers, is appointed only for five years, but uſually holds his place during life. There have formerly been inſtances of governors-general who have retired from buſineſs, to paſs their days in tranquillity at Batavia; but the ill treatment experienced from their ſucceſſors, has, of late years, determined them to remain in their poſt till death. For a long time they appeared in great ſtate, but this parade was laid aſide by the Governor-general Imhoff, as uſeleſs and troubleſome. Though all orders of men may aſpire to this dignity, none of the army, and but few of the gown, have been known to obtain it. It is almoſt always filled by merchants, becauſe the ſpirit of the Company is entirely commercial. Thoſe who are born in India have ſeldom ſufficient addreſs or abilities to procure it. The preſent preſident, however, has never been in Europe.

The appointments of this principal officer are but trifling; he has no more than two thouſand two hundred livres [91l. 13s. 4d.] a month, and ſubſiſtence equal to his pay. The greateſt part of his income ariſes from the liberty allowed him, of taking as much as he thinks proper from the magazines at the current price, and from that he aſſumes the liberty of trading to any extent he judges convenient. The income of the judges is likewiſe very conſiderable, though the Company allows them only four hundred and forty livres [18l. 6s. 8d.] a month, and goods to the ſame amount.

The council meets but twice a-week, unleſs when ſome extraordinary events require a more ſtrict attendance. They appoint to all civil and military employments in India, except thoſe of the writer and ſerjeant, which they thought might be left, without inconvenience, at the diſpoſal of the governors of the reſpective ſettlements. On his advancement to any poſt, every

BOOK II.

man is obliged to take an oath that he has neither promiſed, nor given any thing to obtain his employment. This cuſtom, which is very ancient, familiarizes people with falſe oaths, and proves no bar to corruption. Whoever conſiders the number of abſurd and ridiculous oaths neceſſary to be taken at preſent in moſt countries, on being admitted into any ſociety or profeſſion whatever, will be leſs ſurpriſed to find prevarication ſtill prevailing, where perjury has led the way.

While good faith reigned upon the earth, a ſimple promiſe was ſufficient to inſure confidence. Oaths owe their origin to perfidy. Man was not required to call upon the God that heard him to witneſs his veracity, till he deſerved no longer to be believed. Magiſtrates and ſovereigns, to what do your regulations tend? You either oblige the man of probity to lift up his hand, and call Heaven to witneſs, which with him is a requiſition as injurious as it is uſeleſs; or you compel an oath from the mouth of a reprobate. Of what value can the oath of ſuch a man appear to you? If the oath be contrary to his own ſecurity, it is abſurd; if it be conſonant with his intereſt, it is ſuperfluous. Does it argue a knowledge of the human heart to give the debtor his choice between his ruin and a falſehood, or the criminal his option between death and perjury? The man whom motives of revenge, intereſt, or wickedneſs, have determined to give a falſe teſtimony, will he be deterred by the fear of committing one crime more? Is he not appriſed, before he is brought up to the tribunal of juſtice, that this formality will be required of him? And has he not from the bottom of his heart deſpiſed it before he complied with it? Is it not a ſpecies of impiety to introduce the name of God in our wretched diſputes? Is it not a ſingular mode of making Heaven, as it were, an accomplice in the guilt, to ſuffer that Heaven to be called upon, which has never contradicted, nor will ever contradict the oath? How intrepid, therefore, muſt not the falſe witneſs become, when he has with impunity called down the di-

vine vengeance upon his head, without the fear of being convicted? Oaths ſeem to be ſo much debaſed and proſtituted by their frequency, that falſe witneſſes are grown as common as robbers.

All connections of commerce, not excepting thoſe with the Cape of Good Hope, are made by the council and the reſult of them always falls under their cognizance. Even the ſhips that ſail directly from Bengal and Ceylon, only carry to Europe the invoices of their cargoes. Their accounts, as well as all others, are ſent to Batavia, where a general regiſter is kept of all affairs.

The council of India is not a ſeparate body, nor is it independent. It acts in ſubordination to the direction eſtabliſhed in the United Provinces. Though this be, in the ſtricteſt ſenſe of the word, a direction, the care of diſpoſing of the merchandiſe twice a-year is divided between ſix chambers concerned in this commerce. Their buſineſs is more or leſs, according to the funds that belong to them.

The general aſſembly, which has the conduct of the buſineſs of the Company, is compoſed of the directors of all the chambers. Amſterdam nominates eight, Zealand four, each of the other chambers one, and the ſtate but one. Hence we ſee that Amſterdam, having half the number of voices, has only one to gain to enable it to turn the ſcale in all the deliberations, where every queſtion is decided by a majority of votes.

This body, which is compoſed of ſeventeen perſons, meets twice or thrice a-year, during ſix years at Amſterdam, and two at Middleburg. The other chambers are too inconſiderable to enjoy this prerogative. Some myſterious-minded men, towards the middle of the laſt century, imagined that profound ſecrecy might inſure greater ſucceſs to their tranſactions; and four or five of the moſt enlightened or moſt powerful men among the deputies were accordingly choſen, and inveſted with authority to regulate all affairs of importance, without the conſent of their colleagues, and without being obliged even to aſk their opinion.

BOOK II.

Notwithſtanding the faults which it is eaſy to perceive in theſe ſingular inſtitutions, the Company roſe to a very brilliant ſtate of proſperity. Let us endeavour to inveſtigate the cauſes of this political phenomenon.

Cauſes of the proſperity of the Company.

The early ſucceſſes of the Company were owing to their having the good fortune, in leſs than half a century, to take more than three hundred Portugueſe veſſels; ſome of which were bound for Europe, and others for the different ſea-ports in India, and were laden with the ſpoils of Aſia. This wealth, which the captors had the honeſty to leave untouched, brought to the Company immenſe returns, or ſerved to procure them. Thus the ſales became very conſiderable, although the exports were very moderate.

The decline of the maritime power of the Portugueſe encouraged the Dutch to attack the ſettlements belonging to that nation, and greatly facilitated the conqueſt of them. They found the forts ſtrongly built, defended by a numerous artillery, and provided with every thing that government and the rich individuals of a victorious nation might naturally be ſuppoſed to have collected together for their protection. To form a juſt idea of this advantage, we need only conſider what it has coſt other nations to obtain permiſſion to fix in an advantageous ſituation, to build houſes, magazines, and forts; and to procure all the conveniences neceſſary for their ſecurity or their commerce.

When the Company found themſelves in poſſeſſion of ſo many rich and well eſtabliſhed ſettlements, they did not ſuffer themſelves to be ſeduced by a graſping ſpirit of ambition. They were deſirous of extending their commerce, not their conqueſts; and can ſcarce be accuſed of any acts of injuſtice, except ſuch as ſeemed neceſſary to ſecure their power. The Eaſt was no longer a ſcene of bloodſhed, as it had been at the time when the deſire of diſtinguiſhing themſelves by martial exploits, and the rage of making proſelytes, gave the Portugueſe a menacing air wherever they appeared in India.

The Dutch ſeemed to have arrived rather to revenge and reſcue the natives of the country than to enſlave them. They maintained no wars with them, but ſuch as were neceſſary to procure ſettlements upon their coaſts, and to oblige them to enter into treaties of commerce. It is true, theſe people received no advantage from them, and were deprived of a great part of their liberty; but in other reſpects, their new maſters, rather leſs barbarous than the conquerors they had diſpoſſeſſed, left the Indians at liberty to govern themſelves, and did not compel them to change their laws, their manners, or their religion.

By their manner of poſting and diſtributing their forces, they contrived to keep the people in awe, whom they had at firſt conciliated by their behaviour. If we except Cochin and Malacca, they had *nothing* upon the continent but factories and *ſmall forts*. The iſlands of Java and Ceylon contained their troops and magazines; and from thence their ſhips maintained their authority, and protected their *trade throughout* India.

This commerce was become very conſiderable ſince the deſtruction of the Portugueſe power had *thrown* the ſpice trade into their hands. Although the chief conſumption of the ſpices was in Europe, the fortunate poſſeſſors of this branch of commerce did not fail to ſell a conſiderable part of them in the Indies, though at a lower price. They found an annual vent there for ten thouſand pounds weight of mace, one hundred thouſand pounds of nutmegs, one hundred and fifty thouſand pounds of cloves, two hundred thouſand pounds of cinnamon, and three or four millions weight of pepper. Theſe, however, were in general ſpices of an inferior quality, which would not have been ſold in our countries.

The care of exporting and diſtributing the ſpices aſſiſted the Dutch in appropriating to themſelves ſeveral other branches of commerce. In proceſs of time they became maſters of the coaſting trade of Aſia, as they were already of that of Europe. This navigation em-

BOOK II.

ployed a great number of ships and sailors, who, without causing any expence to the Company, contributed to its security.

By virtue of these superior advantages, they were enabled for a long time to prevent the attempts of other nations to interfere in the Indian trade, or to make them abortive. The produce of their country came to the Europeans through the hands of the Dutch, who never experienced those restraints from their country which have in latter times been imposed every where else. The government, convinced that the proceedings of other nations neither ought nor could be a rule to direct their conduct, always gave the Company leave to dispose of their merchandise at the capital freely, and without reserve. At the time this society was instituted, the United Provinces had neither any manufactures nor crude materials to work upon. It was, therefore, no inconvenience, but rather a point of great policy, to allow, and even encourage, the citizens to wear linens and stuffs imported from India. The various manufactures which were introduced into the republic, in consequence of the repeal of the edict of Nantz, might have induced them to lay aside the thoughts of purchasing their clothing from so remote a country; but the fondness that prevailed in Europe at that time for French fashions, had given so advantageous an opening for the manufactures of the refugees, that they had not the least idea of departing from the ancient channel. Since the high price of labour, the necessary consequence of a redundancy of money, has lessened the manufactures, and obliged the nation to trade upon a frugal plan, Indian stuffs have had a greater run than ever. It was thought that fewer inconveniences would arise from enriching the Indians than the English or French, whose prosperity would not fail to hasten the ruin of a state, the opulence of which is only supported by the blindness, the disputes, or the indolence of other powers.

Decline of the Company.

This disposition of things had carried the fortune of the Company to a degree from which it has at length

fallen off. This truth will be made apparent by entering into a detail of ſome facts.

The firſt funds of this commercial aſſociation did not amount to more than 14,211,648 livres [592,152l.]. Of this fund, 8,084,813 [336,867l. 4s. 2d.] were furniſhed by Amſterdam, 2,934,540 livres eight ſols [122,272l. 10s. 4d.] by Zealand, 1,180,905 livres [49,204l. 7s. 6d.] by Enchuyſen, 1,034,000 [43,083l. 6s. 8d.] by Delft, 587,109 livres twelve ſols [24,462l. 18s.] by Horn, and the remaining 390,280 livres [16,261l. 13s. 4d.] by Rotterdam.

This capital, which has never been increaſed, and which, ſince its eſtabliſhment to the 1ſt of January 1778, has yielded, one year with another, twenty-one and one-ſeventeenth per cent. was divided into ſums of 6600 livres [275l.], which were called ſhares. Their number amounted to two thouſand one hundred and fifty-three. They were ſold for ready money, or upon credit, as all merchandiſe is. The form required in tranſacting this buſineſs was only to ſubſtitute the name of the buyer, inſtead of that of the ſeller, upon the books of the Company; and in this conſiſted the ſole claim the proprietors had. Avarice and the ſpirit of calculation have ſuggeſted another mode of being concerned in this traffic. Perſons who had no ſhares to ſell, and others who had no intention to buy, engaged themſelves reciprocally; the former to furniſh a certain number of ſhares, and the latter to take them at a ſtated price, and on a given day. The price they bore at that period determined the fate of theſe gameſters. The perſon who had loſt paid the difference in money, and thus ended the negotiation.

The deſire of gain, and the fear of loſing in theſe bold ſpeculations, generally excited an extraordinary degree of agitation in the minds of the perſons concerned. Good or bad news was invented; the credit of this intelligence was alternately leſſened or confirmed; and attempts were made to diſcover the myſteries of courts, and to bribe miniſters. Public tranquillity was ſo frequently diſturbed by the colliſion of

BOOK II.

theſe oppoſite intereſts, that the government thought it neceſſary to take ſome ſteps to prevent the exceſs of this ſtock-jobbing. It was declared, that every ſale of ſhares ſhould be deemed void, unleſs it could be proved by the books, that the ſeller, at the time of making the bargain, was really poſſeſſed of the property. Men of honour did not think themſelves diſcharged from their engagements by this law; but it produced the intended effect of making theſe tranſactions leſs frequent.

In ſucceſsful times, theſe ſhares roſe to an almoſt incredible price, as far as to eight times their original value; but they have ſucceſſively fallen off. At the period we are now writing, they do not gain more than about three hundred and ſixty per cent. This is even a higher price than they will fell for any where, except in Holland, where the people have uſed themſelves to be ſatisfied with an intereſt of two and three-fourths per cent.

At the end of the year 1751, the capital of the Company, after the payment of the debts, did not exceed 62,480,000 livres [2,603,333l. 6s. 8d.]. Of this ſum, even, there was not in money, good bills, and merchandiſe, both in the magazines, or upon the ſeas of Europe and India, any more than 38,060,000 livres [1,585,833l. 6s. 8d.]. The remainder conſiſted of doubtful or deſperate debts, of arms, proviſions, artillery, military ſtores, cattle, ſlaves, and ſome other effects which were not objects of commerce.

At the ſame period, the annual profits aroſe to 27,940,000 livres [1,164,166l. 13s. 4d.]. But in order to gain this return, it was neceſſary to lay out 20,460,000 [852,500l.]; ſo that the nett profit was 7,480,000 livres [311,666l. 13s. 4d.], to anſwer the dividend, and to ſupply the expences of war, or the loſſes from fire, ſhipwreck, and the other various calamities which human prudence can neither foreſee nor prevent.

This ſituation appeared ſo very alarming to Moſſel, the ableſt of the chiefs that ever governed the Dutch

ſettlements in the Eaſt Indies, that he conſidered the Company as an exhauſted body, to be ſupported only by cordials: it was, as he expreſſed himſelf, a leaky veſſel, that is kept from foundering only by the pump.

Notwithſtanding all the endeavours we have made, it has been impoſſible to obtain a ſtate of accounts poſterior to the one we have juſt given. What are then the people intereſted in theſe concerns to think of the obſtinacy with which they are left in ignorance of their ſituation? They muſt conclude, either that their affairs are in the utmoſt confuſion; that the perſons to whom they have intruſted the adminiſtration of them, are diſhoneſt men, whoſe conſtant deſign is to order and diſpoſe of every thing at pleaſure, and to pillage, without ſubjecting themſelves to any kind of reclamation; or who create ſuſpicions of malverſation, merely for the purpoſe of ſecuring themſelves from the imputation of ignorance. They muſt naturally ſay to themſelves, we are in the hands of unſkilful men, or of knaves; and of theſe two ſuppoſitions, whichever they may adopt, the effect will be the ſame. The ſtock-holders will be miſtruſtful, the ſhares will be depreciated, and the Company will fall to ruin. When we conſider, with a little attention, this myſterious kind of conduct, we ſhall find it difficult to determine upon which we are moſt to lay the blame, upon the indolence of the proprietors, who have a right to demand an account from perſons who, in fact, are no more than their agents, and who certainly will not be involved in their ruin; or upon the tyrannical inſolence of theſe repreſentatives, to whom their fellow-citizens have intruſted their fortune, which they make uſe of, as if it were their own; or, laſtly, upon the perfidious connivance of the rulers of the ſtate, who dare not, or cannot, or will not interpoſe their authority in a matter of ſo great importance. However this may be, the ſecrecy to which the Company binds its agents by oath, does not prevent it from being apparent, that its ſituation is becoming every day more deplorable. The Company has itſelf been obli-

BOOK II.

ged to communicate its diſtreſs to other nations, by continuing conſtantly to diminiſh its dividends. Let us now endeavour to inveſtigate the true cauſes of this melancholy truth.

Reaſons of the decline of the Company.

The firſt of theſe was the multitude of little wars they were ſucceſſively engaged in, without intermiſſion. Scarce had the inhabitants of the Moluccas recovered from the aſtoniſhment into which they had been thrown by the victories gained by the Dutch over a people whom they looked upon as invincible, than they grew impatient of the yoke. The Company, dreading the conſequences of this diſcontent, attacked the king of Ternate, to oblige him to conſent to the extirpation of the clove-tree every where, except in Amboyna. The iſlanders in Banda were utterly exterminated, becauſe they refuſed to become ſlaves. Macaſſar, deſirous of ſupporting their pretenſions, kept a conſiderable force at bay for a long time. The loſs of Formoſa brought on the ruin of the factories of Tonkin and Siam. The Company were obliged to have recourſe to arms, to ſupport the excluſive trade of Sumatra. Malacca was beſieged, its territory ravaged, and its navigation interrupted by pirates. Negapatan was twice attacked; Cochin was employed in reſiſting the attempts of the kings of Calicut and Travancor. Ceylon has been a ſcene of perpetual diſturbances, which are as frequent, and ſtill more violent, at Java, where peace can never continue long, unleſs the Company will give a reaſonable price for the commodities they require. All theſe wars have proved ruinous, more ruinous, indeed, than they ought to have been, becauſe thoſe who had the management of them only ſought opportunities of enriching themſelves.

Theſe notorious diſſentions have, in many places, been followed by odious oppreſſions, which have been practiſed at Japan, China, Cambodia, Aracan, on the banks of the Ganges, at Achem, Coromandel, Surat; in Perſia, at Baſſora, Mocho, and other places. Moſt of the countries in India are filled with tyrants, who

prefer piracy to commerce, and who acknowledge no right but that of force, and think that whatever is practicable is juſt.

The profits accruing to the Company from the places where their trade met with no interruption for a long time, counterbalanced the loſſes they ſuſtained in others by tyranny or anarchy; but other European nations deprived them of this indemnification. This competition obliged them to buy dearer, and to ſell cheaper. Their natural advantages might, perhaps, have enabled them to ſupport this misfortune, if their rivals had not determined to throw the trade carried on from India to India into the hands of private merchants. By this expreſſion, we are to underſtand the operations neceſſary to tranſport the merchandiſe of one country in Aſia to another; from China, Bengal, and Surat, for inſtance, to the Philippines, Perſia, and Arabia. It was by means of this circulation, and by a multiplicity of exchanges, that the Dutch obtained for nothing, or for a trifle, the rich cargoes they brought to Europe. The activity, economy, and ſkill of the free merchants, drove the Company from all the ſea-ports where no partiality was ſhown.

This revolution, which ſo clearly pointed out to them what ſteps they had to take, did not even ſet them right with reſpect to a meaſure that was deſtructive to trade. They had been accuſtomed to carry all their Indian and European merchandiſe to Batavia, from whence it was diſtributed among the different factories where it might be ſold to advantage. This cuſtom occaſioned expence and loſs of time, the inconveniencies of which were not perceived while their profits were ſo enormous. When other nations carried on a direct trade, it became indiſpenſably neceſſary to relinquiſh a ſyſtem, not only bad in itſelf, but incompatible with circumſtances. The dominion of cuſtom, however, ſtill prevails; and it was ſaid to be owing to the Company's apprehenſions that their ſervants would make an improper uſe of any innovation, that they

BOOK II. did not adopt a meaſure, the neceſſity of which was ſo fully demonſtrated.

This was probably nothing more than a pretext which ſerved to conceal motives of private intereſt. The frauds of the agents were more than winked at. The firſt of them employed had, for the moſt part, been exact in their conduct. They had been under the direction of admirals, who viſited all the factories who were inveſted with abſolute powers in India, and, at the concluſion of every voyage, gave an account in Europe of their adminiſtration. In proportion as the government became a ſedentary one, the agents, who were not ſo ſtrictly watched, grew more remiſs. They abandoned themſelves to that effeminacy, a habit of which is ſo eaſily contracted in hot countries. It became neceſſary to increaſe the number of theſe agents: and no one made a capital point of correcting an abuſe, which gave the people in power an opportunity of providing for all their dependents; who went to Aſia with a view of making a conſiderable fortune in a ſhort time. Being prohibited from trading, their appointments not being ſufficient to maintain them, and all honeſt ways of enriching themſelves being ſhut againſt them, they had recourſe to mal-practices. The Company were cheated in all their affairs by factors who had no intereſt in their proſperity. Theſe diſorders grew to ſuch a height, that it was propoſed to allow a premium of five per cent. upon all commodities ſold or bought, which was to be divided among all the ſervants of the Company according to their ranks. Upon theſe terms they were obliged to take an oath that their account was juſt. This arrangement laſted but five years; it being found that corruption prevailed as much as ever; the premium and the oath were then aboliſhed; and from this period the agents demand any conſideration for their trouble that their avarice dictates.

The contagion, which at firſt infected the lower factories, gradually reached the principal ſettlements,

and at laſt Batavia itſelf. So great a ſimplicity of manners prevailed there at firſt, that the members of the government uſually dreſſed like common ſailors, and never wore decent clothes but in their council-chamber. This modeſty was accompanied with ſo diſtinguiſhed a probity, that before the year 1650 not one remarkable fortune had been made; but this unheard-of prodigy of virtue could not be of long duration. Warlike republics have been ſeen to conquer and make acquiſitions for their country, and to fill the public treaſury with the ſpoils of kingdoms. But we ſhall never ſee the citizens of a commercial republic amaſs riches for a particular body in the ſtate, from which they derive neither glory nor profit. The auſterity of republican principles, muſt of courſe give way to the example given by the people of the Eaſt. This relaxation of manners was more ſenſibly perceived in the capital of the colony, where the articles of luxury that came from all parts, and the air of magnificence it was thought neceſſary to throw round the adminiſtration, introduced a taſte for ſhow. This taſte occaſioned a corruption of manners; and this corruption of manners made all methods of getting money alike indifferent. Even the appearance of decency was ſo far diſregarded, that a governor-general finding himſelf convicted of plundering the finances without the leaſt kind of reſtraint, made no ſcruple of juſtifying his conduct by producing a carte blanche ſigned by the Company.

How was it poſſible to have ſettled a remedy againſt this conduct of the governors, when their depravation could not have been foreſeen in the infancy of the republic, where a purity of manners and frugality prevailed? In theſe ſettlements of the Dutch, the laws had been made for virtuous men; other manners required other laws.

Theſe diſorders might have been repreſſed in their firſt beginnings, if they had not naturally made the ſame progreſs in Europe as in Aſia. But as a river that overflows its banks, collects more mud than wa-

BOOK II.

ter in its paſſage, ſo the vices which riches bring along with them increaſe faſter than riches themſelves. The poſt of director, which was at firſt allotted to able merchants, was at length veſted in great families, in which it was perpetuated, together with the magiſtracies, by virtue of which it had been firſt procured. Theſe families, engaged in political views, or in the ſervice of adminiſtration, conſidered theſe poſts which they had extorted from the Company, only in the light of a conſiderable income, or an eaſy proviſion for their relations; ſome of them even as opportunities of making a bad uſe of their credit. The buſineſs of receiving accounts, hearing debates, and carrying on the moſt important tranſactions of the Company, was left to a ſecretary, who, under the more plauſible title of advocate, became the ſole manager of all the affairs. The governors, who met but twice a year, in ſpring and autumn, at the arrival and departure of the fleet, forgot the habit and track of all buſineſs which requires a conſtant attention. They were obliged to repoſe an entire confidence in a perſon appointed by the ſtate to make extracts from all the diſpatches that arrived from India, and to draw up the form of the anſwers that were to be returned. This guide, who was ſometimes incapable, often bribed, and always ſuſpicious, either threw thoſe whom he conducted into a precipice, or ſuffered them to fall into it.

The ſpirit of commerce ariſes from intereſt, and intereſt always occaſions diſputes. Each chamber would have docks, arſenals, and magazines of its own for the ſhips it was to fit out. Offices were multiplied, and frauds were encouraged by a conduct ſo erroneous.

It was a maxim in every department to furniſh goods, as it had a right to do, in proportion to the number of its ſhips. Theſe goods were not equally proper for the places for which they were deſtined, and were either not ſold at all, or ſold to diſadvantage.

When circumſtances called for extraordinary ſupplies, a ſpirit of puerile vanity, which is afraid of betraying its weakneſs by confeſſing its wants, led them

to avoid borrowing money in Holland, where they would have paid only an intereſt of three per cent. and to have recourſe to Batavia, where money was at ſix, or more frequently to Bengal, or the coaſt of Coromandel, where it was at nine per cent. and ſometimes much higher. Abuſes were multiplied on all ſides.

The ſtates-general, whoſe buſineſs it was to examine every four years into the ſtate of the Company; to ſatisfy themſelves that they kept within the limits aſſigned by their grant; to ſee that juſtice was adminiſtered to the perſons concerned, and that the trade was carried on in a manner not prejudicial to the republic; ſhould have put a ſtop to theſe irregularities, and ought to have done it. They did not do their duty upon any occaſion, nor at any time. There never was preſented to this aſſembly any other than ſo confuſed a ſtate of accounts, that perſons, the moſt completely verſed in figures, would not have been able to clear up the chaos with the longeſt and moſt continued nocturnal labours; notwithſtanding which, with a kind of complaiſance, the motives of which we ſhould fear to ſearch into, theſe accounts were always audited with unanimous approbation, without the leaſt delay, and without the ſlighteſt diſcuſſion of the particulars.

But we are weary of giving a detail of the ſeveral irregularities that have corrupted the government of an aſſociation formed ſo flouriſhing. The colours of this picture are too gloomy. Let us examine what remedies it would be proper to apply to evils of ſuch number and magnitude.

Meaſures that remain to be taken for the re-eſtabliſhment of the Company's affairs.

The firſt thing neceſſary is to be convinced that the government of the Company is too complicated even in Europe. A direction veſted in ſo many chambers, and in ſuch a number of directors, muſt be attended with infinite inconveniencies. It is impoſſible that the ſame ſpirit ſhould prevail throughout the whole, and that the tranſactions ſhould be carried on without receiving a tincture from the oppoſite views of the perſons who conduct them in different places, with in-

BOOK II.

dependence and without harmony. Unity of deſign, ſo neceſſary in the fine arts, is equally advantageous in buſineſs. In vain will it be objected that it is the intereſt of all democratic ſtates to divide their wealth, and to make the fortunes of the citizens as equal as poſſible. This maxim, in itſelf true, is not applicable to a republic that has no territory, and maintains itſelf merely by its commerce. It will therefore be expedient that every article, bought or ſold, ſhould fall under one general inſpection, and be brought into one port. The ſavings that would be made, would be the leaſt advantage the Company would receive from this alteration.

From this place, which would be the centre of intelligence from all quarters, deputations might be ſent to inquire into, and correct abuſes in the remoteſt parts of Aſia. The conduct of the Dutch towards the Indian princes, from whom they have forcibly extorted an excluſive commerce, will be one of the firſt objects of conſideration. They have for a long time behaved to them with an inſolent pride; they have attempted to learn and to lay open the ſecrets of their government, and to engage them in quarrels with their neighbours; they have fomented diviſions among their ſubjects, and ſhown a diſtruſt mixed with animoſity; they have obliged them to make ſacrifices which they never promiſed; and deprived them of advantages ſecured to them by the terms of capitulation. All theſe intolerable acts of tyranny occaſion frequent diſturbances, which ſometimes end in hoſtilities. To reſtore harmony, which is a taſk that grows more neceſſary and more difficult every day, agents ſhould be appointed, who, with a ſpirit of moderation, ſhould unite a knowledge of the intereſts, cuſtoms, language, religion, and manners of theſe nations. At preſent, perhaps, the Company may be unprovided with perſons of this ſtamp; but it concerns them to procure ſuch. Perhaps too, they might find ſome among the ſuperintendents of their factories, which they have every reaſon to induce them to abandon.

The diſcerning part of the merchants of all nations unanimouſly agree, that the Dutch ſettlements in India are too numerous: and that by leſſening their number, they would greatly reduce their expences, without diminiſhing their commerce. The Company cannot poſſibly be ignorant of what is ſo generally known. One would be apt to think they were induced to continue the factories that were burdenſome, to prevent the ſuſpicion of their not being in a condition to maintain them. But this weak conſideration ſhould ſway them no longer. All that deſerves their attention is to make a due diſtinction between what it is convenient to part with, or advantageous to retain. They have before them a ſeries of facts and experience, which muſt prevent any miſtake in an arrangement of ſuch importance.

In the ſubordinate factories, which they may think proper to continue for the advantage of trade, they will demoliſh all uſeleſs fortifications; they will diſſolve the councils, eſtabliſhed from motives of oſtentation rather than neceſſity; and they will proportion the number of their ſervants to the extent of their tranſactions. Let the Company call to mind thoſe happy times, when two or three factors, choſen with judgment, ſent out cargoes infinitely more conſiderable than any they have received ſince; when they raiſed amazing profits upon their goods, which, in proceſs of time, have been diverted into the pockets of their numerous agents; and then they will not heſitate a moment to return to their old maxims, and to prefer a ſimplicity which made them rich, to an empty parade that ruins them.

The reformation will be attended with greater difficulties in the more important colonies. The Company's agents there are a more numerous, reputable, and in proportion, a more opulent body, and conſequently leſs diſpoſed to ſubmit to any regulations. It is, however, neceſſary to reduce them to order, ſince the abuſes they have either introduced or winked at, muſt ſooner or later inevitably occaſion the total ruin

BOOK II. of the intereſts over which they preſide. The malverſations that prevail in the manufactures, magazines, docks, and arſenals at Batavia, and the other large ſettlements, are ſcarcely to be paralleled.

Theſe arangements would lead to others ſtill more conſiderable. At their firſt riſe the Company eſtabliſhed fixed and preciſe rules, which were not to be departed from on any pretence or on any occaſion whatſoever. Their ſervants were mere machines, the ſmalleſt movements of which they had wound up beforehand. They judged this abſolute and univerſal direction neceſſary to correct what was amiſs in the choice of their agents, who were moſt of them drawn out of obſcurity, and had not the advantage of that careful education which would have enlarged their ideas. The Company themſelves did not ſuffer the leaſt variation in their own conduct, and to this invariable uniformity they attributed the ſucceſs of their enterpriſes. The frequent misfortunes which this ſyſtem occaſioned did not prevail with them to lay it aſide; and they always adhered obſtinately to their firſt plan. It is neceſſary that they ſhould adopt other maxims; and after having choſen their factors with more caution, that they ſhould leave to their ſkill and exertions the management of concerns at ſo great a diſtance, and ſubject to perpetual changes. Tired of maintaining a diſadvantageous ſtruggle with the free traders of other nations, they ſhould reſolve to leave the commerce, from one part of India to another, to private perſons. This happy innovation would make their colonies richer and more powerful; and they would ſoon be filled with men of an enterpriſing ſpirit, who would diffuſe their moſt plentiful and moſt valuable productions in all the markets. They themſelves would reap more advantage from the cuſtoms collected in their factories than they could poſſibly expect from the complicated, languid, and even unfrequent commercial agreements tranſacted there.

At the ſame time, thoſe too ruinous armaments, for which the Company are inceſſantly cenſured, will be

diſcontinued. Soon after the commencement of the preſent century they adopted in their docks a defective mode of conſtructing ſhips, which made them loſe a great number of them, and ſome very rich cargoes. Theſe fatal experiments brought them back to the practice generally received; but, from ſome improper motives, they continued to employ in their voyages one-third more of veſſels than were neceſſary. This inſtance of corruption, which ought not to have been overlooked at any time, is become more particularly inſupportable, ſince the materials employed in naval affairs have ariſen to a very exorbitant price, and ſince it has been neceſſary to increaſe the pay of the ſailors.

Theſe reformations would bring on an extenſion of trade; which, in proportion to the manners and circumſtances, was formerly very conſiderable; but the progreſs of it was ſtopped, notwithſtanding the great increaſe of conſumption in Europe, and the new markets opened with Africa and America. It was even perceived to decreaſe, ſince there was no augmentation of its produce, although the merchandiſe was almoſt doubled in value. At preſent the ſales do not amount to more than from forty to fifty-five millions of livres [from 4,666,666l. 13s. 4d. to 4,875,000l.]; a ſum which they brought ſixty years ago, and even before that period.

In theſe colonies are found linens, tea, ſilks, china ware, borax, tin, camphire, tutenague, ſaltpetre, cotton, indigo, pepper, coffee, ſugar, woods for dying, and other articles more or leſs conſiderable, bought up in the different markets of Aſia, or produced by the territory of the Company. Theſe productions and mercantile articles are alſo furniſhed by ſuch of the European nations as have formed connections in India. There is ſcarce any thing but cinnamon, cloves, nutmeg, and mace, the conſumption of which amounts annually to twelve millions of livres [500,000l.], the ſale of which belongs excluſively to the Dutch.

After the improvements which we have ventured to propoſe, order would be re-eſtabliſhed for ſome

BOOK II.

time: we ſay for ſome time, becauſe every colony, where authority and obedience to it are placed in two different countries widely diſtant from each other, is an eſtabliſhment defective in its firſt inſtitution. It is a machine, the ſprings of which are conſtantly relaxing or breaking, and which muſt be perpetually repaired.

Misfortuneswhich threatenthe Company.

If it were even poſſible that the Company could find an effectual and laſting remedy againſt the evils with which they have been tormented for ſo long a time, they would not the leſs be threatened with the loſs of the excluſive privilege of the ſpice trade.

It has long been ſuſpected that theſe valuable productions grew in unknown climates. An obſcure report has been ſpread about from all quarters, that the Malays, who were the only people that had an intercourſe with theſe countries, had brought cloves and nutmegs into ſeveral markets. This vague rumour has never been confirmed by certain facts; and, like all vulgar errors, it has at length fallen into neglect.

In 1774, the Engliſh navigator, Forreſt, ſet out from Balambangan, with a view of aſcertaining whether the ſpices grew in New Guinea, as it had for a long time been aſſerted. At a ſmall diſtance from this ſavage country, in the iſland of Manaſwary, he found a nutmeg tree, the fruit of which differed only from that which has obtained ſo much celebrity, in being of an oblong form. This enterpriſing man plucked up a hundred ſtems of this uſeful tree, and planted them, in 1776, at Bunwoot, a fertile, wholeſome, and inhabited iſland, covered with the moſt beautiful trees, eighteen miles only in circumference, and which Great Britain held from the liberality of the king of Mindanao. Here the nutmeg tree is undoubtedly cultivated, and probably the clove tree likewiſe, ſince it is certain that Forreſt landed at ſeveral of the Moluccas.

It is a fact generally known at preſent and aſcertained, that, in 1771 and 1772, the French have ſucceeded in obtaining from the Moluccas nutmeg and

clove trees, which they have tranſplanted into their own territories. If theſe plants, which have begun to yield ſome fruit, ſhould one day furniſh a large quantity of theſe ſpices, and of good quality, there will immediately be a revolution in this important branch of commerce. It was in the power of France to have ſhared with the Dutch alone this fruitful ſource of riches: the only thing required to ſecure this advantage would have been to have united in one central point, which might eaſily have been guarded, all the acquiſitions of this kind that had been made. But the government, whether from generoſity or imprudence, has choſen that this cultivation ſhould be eſtabliſhed in ſeveral of its poſſeſſions. A number of trees planted in ſo many open places, will neceſſarily be conveyed into the colonies of other nations; and in a little time theſe productions, which for ages paſt have been under the controul of an odious monopoly, will become a common benefit to almoſt all mankind. Perhaps it may happen that ſcarce any other people will be deprived of theſe valuable articles, except thoſe who have been the ancient poſſeſſors of them. The only iſlands where they have hitherto grown have not, nor can they have any other kind of utility; the maintenance of them is extremely expenſive, and the climate deſtructive. What motives can their maſters have to preſerve eſtabliſhments which have loſt all their advantages? They will conſequently abandon them; and then what will become of an aſſociation which for fifty years paſt has had no other reſource againſt the treachery of its agents, the multiplicity of its factories, and the defects of its adminiſtration?

BOOK II.

Setting aſide this conteſt between trading intereſts, the Dutch have reaſon to be apprehenſive of one of a more rapid and deſtructive kind. All circumſtances, particularly their manner of conducting their forces both by ſea and land, conſpire to invite their enemies to attack them.

The Company have a fleet of about a hundred ſhips, from ſix hundred to a thouſand tons burden. Twenty-

BOOK II. eight or thirty are annually ſent out from Europe, and a ſmaller number returns. Thoſe that are not in a condition to return make voyages in India, where the ſeas, except thoſe in the neighbourhood of Japan, are ſo calm, that weaker veſſels may ſail in them with ſafety. In times of profound peace the ſhips ſail ſeparately; but on their return they always form two fleets at the Cape, which paſs by the Orcades, where two ſhips belonging to the republic wait to convoy them to Holland. In time of war this detour was contrived to avoid the enemy's privateers; and it is continued in time of peace to prevent contraband trade. It did not ſeem an eaſy matter to prevail upon ſailors, who were juſt come out of a burning climate, to encounter the cold blaſts of the north; but this difficulty was ſurmounted by a gratuity of two months pay extraordinary. This cuſtom has been continued, even when contrary winds and ſtorms have driven the fleets into the channel. The directors of the chamber of Amſterdam attempted once to ſuppreſs it; but they were in danger of being burnt by the populace, who, like the reſt of the nation, diſapprove of the arbitrary proceedings of this powerful body, and lament the privileges they enjoy. The Company's navy is commanded by officers who were originally ſailors or cabin-boys; they are qualified for pilots, and for working a ſhip, but have not the leaſt idea of naval evolutions; beſides, that, from the defects of their education, they can have no conception of the love of glory, nor are they capable of inſpiring the claſs of men who are under their command with that noble ſentiment.

The land forces are formed in a ſtill more faulty manner. Soldiers who have deſerted from every nation in Europe may, indeed, be expected not to want courage; but their proviſion and clothing are ſo bad, and they are ſo much haraſſed, that they have an averſion for the ſervice. The officers, who for the moſt part originally belonged to ſome low profeſſion, in which they have acquired a ſum ſufficient to purchaſe their poſts, are incapable of infuſing into them a mili-

tary ſpirit. The contempt in which a people purely commercial hold thoſe whoſe ſituation neceſſarily dooms them to poverty, together with the averſion they have for war, contributes greatly to degrade and diſpirit theſe troops. To theſe ſeveral cauſes of their inactivity, weakneſs, and want of diſcipline, may be ſubjoined another, which is equally applicable both to the land and ſea ſervice.

There is not, perhaps, in the moſt ſlaviſh governments, ſo diſhonourable and iniquitous a mode of raiſing ſeamen and ſoldiers as that which has for a long time been practiſed by the Company. Their agents, called by the people *vendeurs d'ames* (kidnappers), who are always buſy in the territories, and even beyond the boundaries of the republic, make it their employment to entice credulous men to embark for India, in hopes of acquiring a conſiderable fortune in a ſhort time. Thoſe who are allured by the bait are enrolled, and receive two months pay, which is always given to their betrayer. They enter into an engagement of three hundred livres [12l. 10s.], which is the profit of the perſon that enliſts them, who is obliged, by this agreement, to furniſh them with ſome clothes worth about a tenth part of that ſum. The debt is ſecured by one of the Company's bills, but it is never paid unleſs the debtor lives long enough to diſcharge it out of his pay.

A Company which ſupports itſelf, notwithſtanding this contempt for the military order, and with ſoldiers ſo corrupt, may enable us to judge of the progreſs which the arts of negotiation have made in theſe latter ages. It has ever been neceſſary to ſupply the want of ſtrength by treaties, by patience, by moderation, and by artifice; but republicans ſhould be well informed that ſuch a ſtate can only be a precarious one, and that political meaſures, how well ſoever they may be combined, are not always able to reſiſt the torrent of violence and the compulſion of circumſtances. The ſecurity of the Company would require troops compoſed of citizens; but this arrangement is

BOOK II. by no means practicable; for the depopulation of Holland would be the neceſſary conſequence of it. The government would oppoſe it, and would make the following repreſentations to this Company, already too much favoured by the ſtate.

'The defence and preſervation of our country is of 'infinitely greater moment to us than the regulation 'of your affairs. Of what uſe would the gold be to 'us, with which your ſhips would return laden, if our 'provinces were to become deſert? If we ſhould ever 'ceaſe to employ foreigners in our ſervice, we ſhall 'ſupply their place in our armies, and not on board 'your ſhips. Let us ſend out of the country, and ex-'poſe the lives of as few of our fellow-citizens as poſ-'ſible. The chief men in our factories are ſufficient-'ly opulent to preſerve themſelves, by all the known 'precautions, from the fatal influence of a peſtilential 'climate. Of what conſequence is it to us, whether 'a parcel of Germans, ſucceeding each other, ſhould 'periſh or not, if there are enough ſtill of them to be 'found, whom miſery has driven out of their country, 'or who will ſuffer themſelves to be amuſed with the 'hopes of a fortune which they will never make? 'Their pay ceaſes the moment they expire; while 'our coffers are continually filling, and our provinces 'are not thinned. The ſecurity of the Company de-'pends upon that of the republic; and what will be-'come of the ſecurity of the republic, if, by a con-'ſtant depopulation, we ſhould reduce our country to 'the miſerable condition of our colonies?'

The Company, therefore, will never be ſerved by any but foreign troops; and it will never inſpire them with that public ſpirit, that enthuſiaſm for glory, which it has not itſelf. In this reſpect, it is the ſame with a company as with a government, which ought always to form its troops upon thoſe principles only that are the baſis of its own conſtitution. Economy, and the deſire of gain, are the principles of adminiſtration adopted by the Company. Theſe are the motives that ſhould be employed to attach the ſoldier to their

ſervice. As he is engaged in commercial expeditions, he ſhould be aſſured of a reward proportioned to the means he hath exerted in forwarding their ſucceſs; and his pay ſhould be made out to him in ſtock. Then perſonal intereſts, far from weakening the general ſprings of government, will only ſerve to ſtrengthen them.

If theſe reflections, however, ſhould not induce the Company to alter this important part of their adminiſtration, let them at leaſt be rouſed by the proſpect of the dangers that threaten them. If they were attacked in India, they would be deprived of their ſettlements there in much leſs time than they employed in wreſting them from the Portugueſe. Their beſt towns are in a defenceleſs ſtate, and the navy would be incapable of protecting them. There is not a ſingle ſhip of the line to be ſeen in the ports, and it would be impoſſible to fit out merchantmen as men of war. The ſtrongeſt of thoſe that return to Europe have not one hundred men; and if the ſailors, diſperſed in all the ſhips that ſail to India, were collected, there would not be a ſufficient number to form one ſingle ſhip's crew. Any man accuſtomed to calculate probable events, would not ſcruple to ſay, that the power of the Dutch might be annihilated in Aſia, before the ſtate could come to the aſſiſtance of the Company. The only baſis upon which this apparently gigantic coloſſus is fixed, is the Molucca iſlands. Six men of war, and fifteen hundred land forces, would be more than ſufficient to ſecure the conqueſt of them, which might be effected either by the French or the Engliſh.

If the court of Verſailles ſhould form this enterpriſe, their ſquadron would ſail from the iſle of France, and bear down upon Ternate, where a commencement of hoſtilities would give the firſt intelligence of its arrival in thoſe ſeas. A fort without outworks, and which might be battered from the ſhips, would not make much reſiſtance. Amboyna, which formerly

BOOK II. had a rampart, a bad ditch, and four ſmall baſtions; has been ſo frequently ſubverted by earthquakes, that it cannot be in a condition to put a ſtop to an enterpriſing enemy for two days. Banda has its peculiar difficulties. There is no bottom round theſe iſlands; and there are ſuch violent currents, that, if two or three channels which lead up to it were miſſed, the veſſels would be unavoidably carried away under the wind. But this might be eaſily prevented by the pilots of Amboyna. There is nothing more to attack, than a wall without a ditch, or a covert way, defended only by four baſtions, in bad condition. A ſmall fort, erected upon an eminence that commands the place, could not prolong its defence for four-and-twenty hours.

All perſons who have ſeen the Moluccas, and examined them attentively, agree, that they would not hold out one month againſt the forces we have mentioned. If, as it is probable, the garriſons, exceſſively reduced in number from motives of economy, enervated by the badneſs of the climate, or exaſperated by the ill treatment they receive, ſhould refuſe to fight, or ſhould make but a feeble reſiſtance, the conqueſt would be more rapid. To ſecure it as firmly as it deſerves, it would be neceſſary to take poſſeſſion of Batavia; a circumſtance not ſo difficult as it may ſeem to be. The ſquadron, with the ſoldiers that were not left in garriſon, and as many of the Dutch troops as ſhould have joined the conqueror, with a timely reinforcement of eight or nine hundred men, would infallibly accompliſh this enterpriſe.

It would not, indeed, be poſſible to lay ſiege to the place by ſea. The water is generally ſo ſhallow under its walls, that the ſhips would never get near enough to the fortifications, to batter them. The enemy would, therefore, be obliged to land their troops for the attack. This landing, perhaps, has been made impracticable in ſeveral places, particularly at the mouth of the river which embelliſhes the ci-

ty. But upon a flat coaſt, which is acceſſible in all parts to boats, the deſcent may be conſidered as already accompliſhed.

BOOK II.

The beſiegers, once eſtabliſhed on land, would meet with nothing but a city of a league in circumference, defended by a double ditch, more or leſs deep; by a low rampart, which is falling to ruin; by an irregular and ill-ſupported citadel; by a few Indians, without courage or experience, collected from different countries; by a ſmall number of white troops, diſſatisfied with their condition, and commanded by officers who have neither rank nor experience. Is it to be preſumed, that ſuch obſtacles would retard the progreſs of enterpriſing troops, animated with the expectations of an immenſe booty? Certainly not: and accordingly the hopes of the Dutch are founded upon another baſis.

The climate of Batavia is ſo deſtructive, that a conſiderable part of the ſoldiers conveyed there from our countries periſh in the courſe of the year. Many of thoſe who eſcape the ſtroke of death, are languiſhing in the hoſpitals; and ſcarce a fourth part remains to do the regular duty of the place. The Dutch flatter themſelves, that, by adding to theſe ordinary cauſes of fatality the help of a general inundation, which is eaſily done, they would dig a grave for the beſiegers, or force them to re-embark. Blind as they are, not to ſee that time only can ſet all theſe means of deſtruction at work; and the capture of the place would be nothing more than the *coup de main* of a warlike and enterpriſing nation.

The plan of conqueſt that France might form, would equally ſuit the intereſt of Great Britain; with this difference, that the Engliſh would, in the firſt place, perhaps, make themſelves maſters of the Cape of Good Hope, an excellent harbour, which would facilitate their voyages to India.

The two ſides of the harbour which leads up to the capital of this famous colony, are defended by a number of redoubts, judiciouſly diſpoſed: but their batte-

BOOK II.

ries would ſoon be diſmounted by the ſhips, which can anchor near enough to the land to play upon them. The fort erected near the ſhore would ſhare the ſame fate, and would make ſtill leſs reſiſtance to the moſt trifling force that ſhould attack it by land. Conſtructed without art, commanded on all ſides, and being incapable of containing more than five or ſix hundred troops, it would infallibly be reduced in leſs than four-and-twenty hours, with a few bombs. The inhabitants of the colony, diſperſed throughout an immenſe ſpace, and ſeparated from each other by deſerts, would not have time to come to its relief. Perhaps they would not, if it were in their power. We may be allowed to ſuppoſe, that the oppreſſion under which they groan, may make them wiſh for a change of government.

Motives which the Republic may have not to ſuffer the ruin of the Company.

If the republic of Holland ſhould not conſider, as imaginary, the dangers to which our regard for the general good of nations makes us apprehend her commerce and her poſſeſſions in India may be expoſed, it ought to omit no precaution to prevent them; for this is one of the moſt important cares it can be employed in. What advantages hath not the ſtate acquired, for theſe two centuries paſt, from theſe diſtant regions? What advantages does it not ſtill derive from them?

Firſt, the ſociety of merchants, who rule theſe ſeveral ſettlements, which they have formed themſelves, without any aſſiſtance from government, have ſucceſſively purchaſed the renewal of their charter. In 1602, they obtained their firſt grant for 55,000 livres [2291l. 13s. 4d.]. Twenty years after this, it was gratuitouſly renewed. From 1643 to 1646, it was prolonged only from ſix months to ſix months, for reaſons which we are not acquainted with. At this period, a gift of 3,300,000 livres [137,500l.] occaſioned it to be granted a-new for five-and-twenty years. This term was not yet expired, when, in 1665, the monopoly was ſecured to them till 1700, upon condition that they ſhould maintain, for the uſe of the ſtate, twenty ſhips

of war, during all the time that the hoſtilities, commenced between the republic and England, ſhould continue. This privileged aſſociation was again allowed to purſue its commercial operations till 1740, for a ſum of 6,600,000 livres [275,000l.]. In the two following years, its fate was precarious: then it acquired a firm eſtabliſhment for twelve years, by paying three per cent. upon the diviſion of its ſhares; and afterwards, for twenty years longer, in conſideration of 2,640,000 livres [110,000l.] to be paid in ſpecie, or in ſaltpetre. In 1774, its privileges were reſtrained to two years, and ſoon extended to twenty, upon condition that it ſhould give up three per cent. of its dividend. BOOK II.

In critical times, the Company have ſtept in to the aſſiſtance of the public treaſure, already exhauſted, or nearly ſo. It is true, they have ſooner or later been reimburſed for theſe advances; but a conduct ſo noble relieved and encouraged the citizens.

A great quantity of ſaltpetre was wanted for the uſe of the ſea and land ſervice: this Company has obliged itſelf to furniſh it at a low price, and in this manner has relieved the treaſury.

The manufactures of Haerlem and Leyden were decreaſing every day; but their decline has been retarded, and, perhaps, their total extinction prevented, by the engagements which the Company have entered into, to export to the amount of 440,000 livres [20,333l. 6s. 8d.] of the goods manufactured at theſe places. They have alſo agreed to furniſh them with ſilks, upon terms which cannot fail of being burdenſome to them.

The perpetual revenue of thirty-three ſhares and one-third has been granted to the ſtadtholder; and it is to be hoped, that this ſacrifice, made by the Company to the firſt magiſtrate of the ſtate, may turn out to the advantage of the republic.

The merchandiſe exported to India, or imported from thence, were formerly ſubject to conſiderable taxes; the mode of collecting which was very embar-

BOOK II.

raſſing. Thirty years ago, it was obſerved, that the regular produce of theſe impoſts was 850,000 livres [35,416l. 13s. 4d.]; and ſince that period, the Company pays that ſum into the treaſury every year.

Beſide the burdens which are to fall upon the Company in general, the proprietors have ſtill obligations of their own to fulfil. For more than a century paſt, they paid annually to the ſtate ſix per cent. upon the original value of each ſhare. In 1777, this tax was reduced to four and a half per cent.; and it cannot be increaſed again till the dividend ſhall have ariſen beyond twelve and a half per cent. The proprietors are alſo to pay upon the purchaſe of each ſhare, a duty called *Ampt Geld*, and which, from thirty-nine livres twelve ſols [1l. 13s.], has been lately reduced to four livres eight ſols [3s. 8d.].

Let us add to all theſe taxes the profits accruing to the ſtate from the ſale of forty-five millions of livres [1,875,000l.] worth of goods, obtained with four or five millions [from 166,666l. 13s. 4d. to 208,333l. 6s. 8d.] of ſpecie, and not the fourth part of which is conſumed upon the territory of the republic. Let us add the immenſe profits that the reſelling of theſe goods brings in to the merchants, and the vaſt ſpeculations of which it is the cauſe. Let us add the multiplicity and extent of private fortunes amaſſed formerly, as well as in our days, in India. Let us add the experience which the ſailors acquire from theſe voyages, and the ſpirit they infuſe into the navy, and we ſhall then have a proper idea of the reſources the government has found from its poſſeſſions in Aſia. The excluſive charter by which theſe poſſeſſions are holden and cultivated, ought even to procure ſtill greater advantages to the United Provinces: the reaſon of this is evident.

It has ever been acknowledged by all nations, whatever the ſyſtem of their government might be, that the riches acquired in any country ought to contribute to the expences of the ſtate. The reaſon of this grand maxim is evident to all capacities. Private fortunes

are ſo eſſentially connected with public proſperity, that, when the latter is injured, the former muſt neceſſarily ſuffer. Thus, when the ſubjects of a ſtate ſerve it with their fortunes or their perſons, they do nothing more than defend their own private intereſts. The proſperity of the country is the proſperity of each individual. This maxim, which is true in all governments, has a particular propriety when applied to free ſocieties.

Moreover, there are bodies of men, whoſe intereſt, either from the nature of thoſe bodies, their extenſive relations, or the variety of their views, are more eſſentially connected with the common intereſt. Of this kind is the Eaſt India Company in Holland. The enemies to its trade are enemies to the republic; and its ſecurity is eſtabliſhed on the ſame baſis with that of the ſtate.

In the opinion of men of the beſt diſcernment, the national debt has ſenſibly weakened the United Provinces, and affected the general welfare, by gradually increaſing the load of taxes, of which it was the firſt cauſe. The republic can never be reſtored to its original ſplendour, till it be releaſed from the enormous burden under which it is oppreſſed; and this relief can only be expected from a Company, which it has always encouraged, protected, and favoured. To place this powerful body in a ſituation to render the higheſt ſervices to the country, it will by no means be neceſſary to reduce the profits of the proprietors; it will be ſufficient to bring them back to thoſe principles of economy and ſimplicity, and to that plan of adminiſtration, which laid the foundation of their firſt proſperity.

Former good conduct of the Dutch, and their preſent degeneracy.

A reformation ſo neceſſary will admit of no delay. This confidence is due to a government which has always endeavoured to maintain a great number of citizens within itſelf, and to employ only a ſmall part of them in its diſtant ſettlements. It was at the expence of all Europe, that Holland was continually increaſing the number of its ſubjects; the liberty of conſcience

BOOK II. allowed there, and the moderation of the laws, attracted all perſons who were oppreſſed, in ſeveral other places, by a ſpirit of intoleration, and the ſeverity of government.

The republic have procured means of ſubſiſtence to all perſons who have been willing to ſettle and work among them: the inhabitants of a country ruined by war, were ſeen to ſeek ſecurity and employment in Holland.

Agriculture could never be a conſiderable object in Holland, although the land was very well cultivated. But the herring fiſhery ſupplied the place of agriculture. This was a new mode of ſubſiſtence, a ſchool for ſeamen. Born upon the waters, they ploughed the ſea, from whence they got their food: they grew familiar with ſtorms; and, from the multitude of hazards to which they were expoſed, they learn to overcome dangers.

The carrying trade which the republic was continually employed in from one European nation to another, was alſo a kind of navigation, which, without deſtroying men, ſupplied them with ſubſiſtence by labour.

In a word, navigation, which depopulates a part of Europe, peopled Holland. It was, as it were, the produce of the country, Her ſhips were her landed eſtates, which ſhe made the moſt of, at the expence of the ſtranger.

Few of the inhabitants of Holland knew any thing of thoſe conveniencies of life which could only be procured at a very high price: all, or almoſt all of them were unacquainted with luxury. A ſpirit of order, frugality, and even avarice, prevailed throughout the nation, and was carefully kept up by the government.

The colonies were conducted by the ſame ſpirit.

The deſign of preſerving their population prevailed in the military ſyſtem; the republic maintained a great number of foreign troops in Europe, and ſome in the colonies.

The ſailors in Holland were well paid; and foreign ſeamen were conſtantly employed either on board their trading veſſels, or their men of war.

For the purpoſes of commerce, it is neceſſary that harmony ſhould be preſerved at home, and peace abroad. No people, except the Swiſs, took more care to keep on good terms with their neighbours; and they endeavoured, ſtill more than the Swiſs, to encourage peace among them.

The republic had intended to preſerve unanimity among her citizens by very excellent laws, which ſhould preſcribe the duties of every ſtation, by a ſpeedy and diſintereſted adminiſtration of juſtice, and by regulations admirably well adapted to the merchants. She felt the neceſſity of good faith, ſhowed it by her obſervance of treaties, and endeavoured to inculcate the ſame principle among individuals.

In a word, we know of no nation in Europe that had conſidered better what its united advantages of ſituation, ſtrength, and population, allowed it to undertake; or that had known and followed more effectually the means of increaſing both its population and its ſtrength. We know of none, which having ſuch objects in view as an extenſive commerce and liberty mutually attracting and ſupporting each other, hath conducted itſelf in a better manner for the preſervation of both the one and the other.

But how are theſe manners already changed and degenerated from the purity of a republican government! Perſonal intereſts, which become laudable by being combined, are now totally ſelfiſh, and corruption is become general. There is no patriotiſm in that country, which, above all others in the univerſe, ſhould inſpire its inhabitants with more ſtedfaſt attachments.

What patriotic ſentiments, indeed, might we not expect from a nation that can ſay to itſelf, This land which I inhabit, has been fertilized by me; it is I who have embelliſhed, who have created it. This threatening ſea, which deluged all our plains, rages in

BOOK II.

vain againſt the powerful dikes I have oppoſed to its fury. I have purified this air, which ſtagnant waters had filled with fatal exhalations. It is by my means that ſuperb cities ſtand now upon the ſlime and mud over which the ocean once rolled its waves. The ports I have conſtructed, the canals I have digged, receive the productions of the whole univerſe, which I diſpenſe at pleaſure. The inheritances of other nations are only poſſeſſions which man diſputes with man; that which I ſhall leave to my poſterity, I have raviſhed from the elements which conſpired againſt my territory, and am now the maſter of it. Here it is that I have eſtabliſhed a new arrangement of nature, a new ſyſtem of morality. I have done every thing where there was nothing. Air, land, government, liberty, all theſe are my works. I enjoy the glory of the paſt: and when I caſt a look into futurity, I ſee with ſatisfaction that my aſhes will reſt quietly on the ſame ſpot where my forefathers ſaw the breaking of ſtorms.

What motives theſe for idolizing one's country! Yet there is no longer any public ſpirit in Holland: it is a whole, the parts of which have no other relation among themſelves than the ſpot they occupy. Meanneſs, baſeneſs, and diſhoneſty, characteriſe now the conquerors of Philip. They make a traffic of their oath as of their merchandiſe; and they will ſoon become the refuſe of the univerſe, which they had aſtoniſhed by their induſtry and by their virtues.

Men, unworthy of the government under which ye live, ſhudder at leaſt at the dangers that ſurround you! Thoſe who have ſlaviſh ſouls, are not far removed from ſlavery. The ſacred fire of liberty can only be kept up by chaſte hands. Ye are not now in the ſame ſtate of anarchy as when the ſovereigns of Europe, all equally oppoſed by the nobles in their reſpective ſtates, could not carry on their deſigns either with ſecrecy, unanimity, or diſpatch; as when the equilibrium of the ſeveral powers was merely the effect of their mutual debility. At preſent, power grown more independent, confirms thoſe advantages to a monarchy, which a free

ſtate can never enjoy. What have republicans to oppoſe to a ſuperiority ſo formidable? Their virtues; but ye have loſt them. The corruption of your manners, and of your magiſtrates, encourages every where the detractors of liberty; and perhaps your fatal example is the means of impoſing a heavier yoke on other nations. What anſwer would you wiſh us to make to thoſe men, who either from the prejudice of education or from miſrepreſentations, are perpetually telling us, This is the government which you extol ſo much in your writings; theſe are the happy conſequences of that ſyſtem of liberty you hold ſo dear? To thoſe vices which you have laid to the charge of deſpotiſm, they have added another, which ſurpaſſes them all, the inability to ſtop the progreſs of evil. What anſwer can be given to ſo ſevere a ſatire on democracy?

Induſtrious Batavians, formerly ſo poor, ſo brave, and ſo formidable, at preſent ſo opulent and ſo feeble, tremble at the idea of being again reduced to crouch under the yoke of arbitrary power, which you have thrown off, and which ſtill threatens you. It is not I who give you this caution; it is the voice of your anceſtors which thus calls out to you from the bottom of their tombs.

'Was it then to be reſerved for this ignominy, that 'we purpled the ſeas with our blood, and ſtained this 'land with it? The wretchedneſs which we could not 'ſupport, is that which ye are preparing for your-'ſelves. That gold which ye accumulate and hold ſo 'dear, is that which has placed you under the depen-'dence of one of your enemies. Ye tremble in his 'preſence, from apprehenſions that ye ſhall loſe the 'riches ye have intruſted him with. Whenever he 'commands, you obey. Alas! let theſe perfidious 'riches go, if it be neceſſary, and recover your dig-'nity. Then it is, that rather than ſubmit to the 'yoke, whatever it may be, you will chooſe to throw 'down with your own hands the barriers you have 'raiſed againſt the ſea, and to bury yourſelves, toge-'ther with your enemies, under the waters.

BOOK

'But if, in your preſent abject and puſillanimous ſtate, it ſhould happen that ambition ſhould lead again a hoſtile army into the centre of your provinces, or under the walls of your capital; ſay, how would you act upon ſuch an event? You are told that you muſt in a moment either reſolve to open the gates of your city to the enemy, or to burſt your dikes. Would you heſitate and exclaim: OUR DIKES! OUR DIKES! But we perceive that you turn pale. Alas! We ſee too plainly that your wretched deſcendants do not retain one ſpark of the virtue of their anceſtors.

'What ſtrange infatuation could induce them to give themſelves a maſter? But what more ſtrange infatuation ſtill could lead them to perpetuate his authority, by rendering it hereditary. We ſhould ſay, Woe! to thoſe perſons who flattered themſelves that they ſhould alternately maintain their ſway over the prince, by the gratitude he owed them, and over the republic, by the ſupport they ſhould have from the prince, if they had not themſelves been the victims of their baſe policy, and if it had not plunged them into retirement and obſcurity; puniſhments of the ſevereſt kind to men of intrigue and ambition. A free and commercial people, giving themſelves a maſter! A people to whom liberty ſhould appear the more precious, as they have the more reaſons to fear that their projects ſhould be made known, their ſpeculations interrupted, their enterpriſes thwarted, the poſts of the ſtate filled by traitors, and thoſe of their colonies beſtowed on unworthy foreigners. You truſt in the juſtice and good ſentiments of your preſent chief, and perhaps with reaſon. But who will inſure to you that his virtues ſhall be tranſmitted to his ſucceſſor; or from him to the next, and ſo on from one generation to another, to all the poſterity that ſhall deſcend from him?

'O ye, our fellow-citizens and our children! may future events diſprove this fatal prophecy! But if you would but reflect one moment, or if you had

'the leaſt concern for the fate of your progeny, you would already ſee preparing before your eyes the chains that are deſtined for them. They are foreigners who line the decks of yours ſhips; they are foreigners who compoſe and command your armies. Look into the hiſtorical annals of all nations; read and ſhudder at the neceſſary conſequences of ſo imprudent a ſtep. That opulence which lulls you in a ſtate of lethargy, and keeps you in ſubjection to a power that is your rival, that very opulence itſelf will excite the cupidity of that power which you have created in the midſt of yourſelves. You will be deprived of it, and at the ſame time of your liberty. You will be annihilated; for you will ſeek for your courage within yourſelves, and you will not find it.

'Be not deceived: your preſent condition is more deplorable than our's ever was. The advantage of an indigent people groaning under oppreſſion is, that they have nothing to loſe but life, which is a burden to them. The misfortune of a people enervated by riches is, that they loſe all for want of courage to defend them. Rouſe yourſelves, therefore, and behold the ſucceſſive progreſs of your degradation. Behold how much you are fallen off from that ſtate of ſplendour to which we had raiſed ourſelves; and endeavour to aſcend to it again, if however it be ſtill practicable.'

This is what your illuſtrious and brave anceſtors declare to you by my voice. Of what conſequence, you will anſwer me, are our preſent decline, or our future misfortunes to you? Are you our fellow-citizen? Have you any dwelling, any wife, any children in our cities? I reply; Of what concern is it to you where I was born, who I am, or where I dwell, if what I tell you be but the truth? Did the ancients ever aſk the augur in what country he had firſt ſeen the light; or upon what oak reſted the prophetic bird which announced them a victory or a defeat? Batavians, the deſtiny of every commercial nation is to be rich, effeminate, corrupt, and ſubdued. Aſk yourſelves what you have to expect.

BOOK III.

Settlements, Trade, and Conqueſts of the Engliſh in the Eaſt Indies.

BOOK III.

Sketch of the ancient ſtate of the Engliſh commerce.

WE are totally unacquainted either with the period in which the Britiſh iſles were peopled, or with the origin of their firſt inhabitants. All we can learn from the moſt authentic hiſtorical records, is, that they were ſucceſſively viſited by the Phœnicians, the Carthaginians and the Gauls. The traders of theſe nations uſed to go there to exchange earthen veſſels, ſalt, all kinds of iron and copper inſtruments, for ſkins, ſlaves, hounds, and bull-dogs, and eſpecially for tin. The commodities exchanged were valued in proportion to their utility. Such mercantile articles were brought to theſe people, as they undoubtedly ſet a higher value upon, than thoſe which they offered in exchange. Neither of theſe parties are to be accuſed either of ignorance or diſhoneſty. To whatever country of the univerſe we may repair, men will always be found as cunning as ourſelves; and they will ever give thoſe things they eſteem the leaſt, in return for thoſe which are in greater repute among them.

A mere looſe ſpeculation would lead us to imagine, that iſlanders have been the firſt civilized people among mankind. Nothing puts a ſtop to the excurſions of people living on a continent: they may rove about in queſt of ſubſiſtence, and yet withdraw themſelves from the ſcene of war. In iſlands, it ſhould ſeem, that the eſtabliſhment of laws and mutual compacts, muſt of courſe become ſooner neceſſary, from the unavoidable conflicts of war, and the inconveniences of a too limited ſociety. We obſerve, on the contrary, that the manners and the government of iſlanders, are formed later and more imperfectly. It is among theſe people that we trace the origin of that multitude of ſingular inſtitutions that retard the progreſs of population. Anthropophagy, the caſtration of males, the infibulation

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of females, late marriages, the conſecration of virginity, the approbation of celibacy, the puniſhments exerciſed againſt girls who became mothers at too early an age; perhaps alſo faſtings, ſelf-denials, and all thoſe extravagancies that would ariſe in convents, if there were a monaſtery of men and women intermixed, in which the number of the former was by far the greateſt, and without any poſſibility of emigration.

When theſe iſlanders have found out the means of eſcaping from the narrow circuit in which natural cauſes had confined them during a ſeries of ages, they carry their cuſtoms along with them to the continents, where they have been perpetuated from one century to another, and where philoſophers of our days are ſtill embarraſſed to inveſtigate the reaſon of them. The ſuperabundance of population in iſlands, was the cauſe of the tardy progreſs of civilization among their inhabitants; ſince it became neceſſary to put a continual ſtop to that ſuperabundance by violent meaſures. An extreme ſtate of barbariſm prevails upon that ſpot, where the members of the ſame family are compelled to extirpate each other. It is the intercourſe of people among themſelves, which diminiſhes their ferocity, as it is their ſeparation from each other which contributes to prolong it. The iſlanders of our days have not entirely loſt their primitive character; and perhaps an attentive obſerver might find ſome traces of it even in Great Britain.

The dominion of the Romans was not ſufficiently durable, nor ſufficiently uninterrupted to improve, in any conſiderable degree, the induſtry of the Britons. Even the ſmall progreſs that huſbandry and the arts had made during this period, was loſt as ſoon as that haughty power had determined to abandon this conqueſt. The ſpirit of ſlavery which the ſouthern inhabitants of Britain had contracted, deprived them of the courage neceſſary to reſiſt, at firſt, the overflowings of their neighbours the Picts, who had ſaved themſelves from the yoke by flying towards the north of the iſland, and prevented them afterwards from be-

BOOK III.

king able to oppoſe the more deſtructive, more obſtinate, and more numerous expeditions of plunderers, that poured in ſwarms from the northern parts of Europe.

All nations were affected with this dreadful ſcourge, the moſt deſtructive, perhaps, that ever was recorded in the annals of the world; but the calamities which Great Britain particularly experienced are inexpreſſible. Every year, ſeveral times even in a year, her countries were ravaged, her houſes burnt, her women raviſhed, her temples ſtripped, her inhabitants maſſacred, put to torture, or enſlaved. All theſe misfortunes ſucceeded each other with inconceivable rapidity. When the country was ſo far deſtroyed that nothing remained to glut the avidity of theſe barbarians, they ſeized on the land itſelf. One nation ſucceeded another. One band ſupervening, expelled or exterminated the one that was already eſtabliſhed; and this ſucceſſion of revolutions conſtantly kept up indolence, miſtruſt and miſery. In theſe diſpiriting times, the Britons had ſcarce any commercial connection with the continent. Exchanges were even ſo rare among them, that it was neceſſary to have witneſſes for the ſale of the leaſt trifle.

It might have been expected that the union of the two kingdoms would have put a ſtop to theſe calamities, when William the Conqueror ſubdued Great Britain a little while after the middle of the eleventh century. His followers came from countries rather more civilized, more active, and more induſtrious, than thoſe they came to ſettle in. Such a communication ought naturally to have rectified and enlarged the ideas of the conquered people. Unfortunately the introduction of the feudal government occaſioned ſo ſpeedy and ſo complete a revolution in matters of property, that every thing was thrown into confuſion.

The minds of men were ſcarcely ſettled, and the conquerors and the conquered had but juſt begun to conſider themſelves as one and the ſame people, when the abilities and ſtrength of the nation were engaged in ſupporting the pretenſions of their ſovereigns to the

crown of France. In theſe obſtinate wars, the Engliſh diſplayed military talents and courage; but, after ſeveral great efforts, and conſiderable ſucceſs, they were forced back into their iſland, where domeſtic troubles expoſed them to freſh calamities. BOOK III.

During theſe different periods, the whole commerce was in the hands of the Jews and the bankers of Lombardy, who were alternately favoured and robbed, conſidered as uſeful perſons, and condemned to death, expelled, and recalled. Theſe tumults were increaſed by the audacity of the pirates, who, being ſometimes protected by the government, with which they ſhared their ſpoils, attacked all ſhips indiſcriminately, and frequently ſank their crews. The intereſt of money was at fifty per cent. Leather, furs, butter, lead, and tin, were the only things exported from England at a very moderate rate, and thirty thouſand ſacks of wool, which returned annually a more conſiderable ſum. As the Engliſh were then totally unacquainted with the art of dyeing this wool, and manufacturing it with elegance, the greateſt part of this money returned. To remedy this inconvenience, foreign manufacturers were invited, and the people were prohibited from wearing any clothes that were not of home manufacture. At the ſame time, the exportation of manufactured wool and wrought iron was forbidden; two laws altogether worthy of the age in which they were inſtituted.

Henry VII. permitted the barons to diſpoſe of their lands, and the common people to buy them. This regulation diminiſhed the inequality which ſubſiſted before between the fortunes of the lords and their vaſſals; it made the latter more independent, and inſpired the people with the deſire of enriching themſelves, and with the hope of enjoying their riches. There were many obſtacles to this wiſh and this hope; ſome of which were removed. The company of merchants eſtabliſhed at London was prevented from exacting in future the ſum of one thouſand five hundred and ſeventy-five livres [65l. 10s. 6d.] from each of the other

BOOK III. merchants in the kingdom, desirous of trading at the great fairs of the Low Countries. In order to fix a greater number of people to the labours of husbandry, it was enacted, that no person should put his son or daughter out to any kind of apprenticeship, without being possessed of a revenue of twenty-two livres ten sols [18s. 4d.] in landed property: this absurd law was afterwards mitigated.

Unfortunately that law which regulated the price of all sorts of provisions, of woollens, of workmens wages, of stuffs, and of clothing, was maintained in full force. Other impediments even were thrown in the way of commerce, on account of some pernicious combinations that were set on foot. It was a circumstance then unknown, that money, which is the representative of every thing, is, in its turn, represented by all vendible articles; that it is a commodity, which, like all others, must be left to itself; that the value of it must necessarily rise or diminish every instant, from an infinite number of different incidents; that every regulation of policy upon this matter cannot but be absurd and detrimental; that one of the means of multiplying usurers is to forbid usury, because this prohibition becomes an exclusive privilege for any one who sets the sense of shame at defiance; that every law is ridiculous, whenever there are positive means of eluding it; that the general competition which would arise from an unlimited liberty of trading with money, would necessarily reduce it to a lower interest; that ruinous loans, which it is the intention to prevent, would be less frequent, since the borrower would have nothing to pay but the value of the money borrowed; whereas, in the present state of things, we must add to this value the price which the usurer sets upon his conscience, upon his honour, and upon the risk he runs from committing an illegal act; a price which rises in proportion to the scarcity of usurers, and to the rigour with which the prohibitive law is observed.

From the same want of discernment, the exportation of money in any kind of coin was forbidden;

and, in order to prevent foreign merchants from carrying it clandeſtinely away, they were compelled to change into Engliſh merchandiſe the entire produce of the goods they had brought into England. The exportation of horſes was likewiſe prohibited; and the people were not ſufficiently enlightened to diſcover that ſuch a prohibition would neceſſarily cauſe the propagation and improvement of the ſpecies to be neglected. At length, corporations were eſtabliſhed in all the towns; that is to ſay, the ſtate authoriſed all perſons of the ſame profeſſion to make ſuch regulations as they ſhould think neceſſary for their excluſive preſervation and ſucceſs. The nation is ſtill oppreſſed with a regulation ſo contrary to general induſtry, and which reduces every thing to a kind of monopoly.

Upon conſidering ſuch a number of ſtrange laws, we might be induced to think that Henry was either indifferent about the proſperity of his kingdom, or that he was totally deficient in underſtanding. Nevertheleſs, it is certain that this prince, notwithſtanding his extreme avarice, often lent conſiderable ſums of money, without intereſt, to merchants who had not property ſufficient to carry on the ſchemes they had planned: beſides, the wiſdom of his government is ſo well confirmed, that he is accounted, with reaſon, one of the greateſt monarchs that ever ſat upon the throne of England. But, notwithſtanding all the efforts of genius, it requires a ſucceſſion of ſeveral ages before any ſcience can be reduced to ſimple principles. It is the ſame thing with theories as with machines, which are always very complicated at firſt, and which are only freed in the courſe of time, by obſervation and experience, from thoſe uſeleſs wheels which ſerved merely to increaſe their friction.

The knowledge of the ſucceeding reigns was not much more extenſive upon thoſe matters we are treating of. Some Flemings, ſettled in England, were the only good workmen in that country; they were almoſt always inſulted and oppreſſed by the Engliſh workmen, who were jealous of them without emula-

BOOK III.

tion. The latter complained that all the cuſtomers went to the Flemings, and that theſe occaſioned a riſe in the price of corn. The government adopted theſe popular prejudices, and forbade all ſtrangers to employ more than two workmen in their ſhops. The merchants were not better treated than the workmen; and thoſe even who were naturalized were obliged to pay the ſame duties as aliens. Ignorance was ſo general, that the cultivation of the beſt lands was neglected, in order to convert them into paſtures, even at the time that the number of ſheep which might be in one flock was reſtrained by the laws to two thouſand. All mercantile correſpondences were centred in the Low Countries. The inhabitants of theſe provinces bought the Engliſh commodities, and circulated them through the different parts of Europe. It is probable that the nation would not have for a long time emerged from this ſituation, had it not been for a concurrence of favourable circumſtances.

The duke of Alva's cruelties drove ſeveral able manufacturers into England, who carried the art of the fine Flemiſh manufactures to London. The perſecutions which the Proteſtants ſuffered in France ſupplied England with workmen of all kinds. Elizabeth, impatient of contradiction, but knowing and deſirous of doing what was right, at once deſpotic and popular, with the advantages of a good underſtanding, and of being properly obeyed, availed herſelf of the fermentation of mens minds, as prevalent throughout all her dominions as through the reſt of Europe; and while this fermentation produced, among other nations, nothing but theological diſputes, and civil or foreign wars, in England it gave riſe to a lively ſpirit of emulation for commerce, and for the improvement of navigation.

The Engliſh learned to build their ſhips at home, which they bought before of the merchants of Lubec and Hamburgh. They were ſoon the only perſons who traded to Muſcovy by the way of Archangel, newly diſcovered; and they preſently became com-

petitors with the Hanſe Towns in Germany, and in the north. They began to trade with Turkey. Several of their navigators attempted, though in vain, to diſcover a paſſage to India by the northern ſeas. At length Drake, Stephens, Cavendiſh, and ſome others, reached that place, ſome by the South Sea, and others by doubling the Cape of Good Hope. BOOK III.

First voyages of the Engliſh to India.

The ſucceſs of theſe voyages was ſufficient to determine the moſt able merchants of London to eſtabliſh a company in the year 1600, which obtained an excluſive privilege of trading to the Eaſt Indies. The act which granted this privilege fixed it for fifteen years. It declared, that if it ſhould prove injurious to the ſtate, it ſhould be annulled, and the Company ſuppreſſed, by giving two years previous notice to its members.

This clauſe of reſerve aroſe from the diſpleaſure the commons had lately ſhown on account of a grant, the novelty of which might poſſibly offend them. The queen had returned to the houſe, and had ſpoken on this occaſion in a manner worthy to ſerve as a leſſon to all ſovereigns.

"Gentlemen," ſaid ſhe to the members of the houſe commiſſioned to return her thanks, "I am extremely "ſenſible of your attachment, and of the care you "have taken to give me an authentic teſtimony of it. "This affection for my perſon had determined you to "apprize me of a fault I had inadvertently fallen into "from ignorance, but in which my will had no ſhare. "If your vigilance had not diſcovered to me the miſ-"chiefs which my miſtake might have produced, what "pain ſhould I not have felt—I, who have nothing "dearer to me than the affection and preſervation of "my people? May my hand ſuddenly wither, may "my heart be ſtruck at once with a deadly blow, be-"fore I ſhall ever grant particular privileges that my "ſubjects may have reaſon to complain of! The ſplen-"dour of the throne has not ſo far dazzled my eyes, "that I ſhould prefer the abuſe of an unbounded au-"thority to the uſe of a power exerciſed by juſtice.

BOOK III.

"The brilliancy of royalty blinds only thoſe princes "who are ignorant of the duties that the crown im- "poſes. I dare believe that I ſhall not be ranked "among ſuch monarchs. I know that I hold not the "ſceptre for my own proper advantage, and that I am "entirely devoted to the ſociety which has put its "confidence in me. It is my happineſs to ſee that "the ſtate has hitherto proſpered under my govern- "ment; and that my ſubjects are worthy that I ſhould "yield up my crown and my life for their ſakes. Im- "pute not to me the improper meaſures I may be en- "gaged in, nor the irregularities which may be com- "mitted under the ſanction of my name. You know "that the miniſters of princes are too often guided by "private intereſts, that truth ſeldom reaches the ears "of kings, and that, obliged as they are, from the "multiplicity of affairs they are laden with, to fix "their attention on thoſe which are of the greateſt "importance, it is impoſſible they ſhould ſee every "thing with their own eyes."

From the peruſal of this wiſe ſpeech, we ſhould be inclined to believe, that an abſolute monarch, who is juſt, ſteady, and enlightened, would be the beſt of princes: but on the other hand, we ſhould conſider, that if his reign were to be laſting, the people would neglect the aſſertion of thoſe rights, of which they would have no occaſion to avail themſelves; and that nothing could be more fatal to them than the continuation of this lethargy, under a reign ſimilar to the firſt, unleſs it be the prolongation of it under a third. Nations ſometimes make attempts to deliver themſelves from an oppreſſion impoſed by violence; but never ſtrive to ſet themſelves free from a ſtate of ſlavery, into which they have been led by mild and gentle proceedings. Sooner or later a tyrant, either weak-minded, or cruel, or devoid of underſtanding, will ſucceed to the management of an abſolute power, which has never been oppoſed. The people who are the victims of this deſpotiſm, think they are deſtined to be ſo. They have loſt the ſenſe of liberty, which can

only be maintained by perpetual exertion. Perhaps, had the Engliſh been governed by three ſucceſſive ſovereigns ſimilar to Elizabeth, they would have been the moſt abject of all ſlaves. BOOK III.

The funds of this Company were, at firſt, far from being conſiderable. Part of them was expended in fitting out a fleet of four ſhips, which ſailed in the beginning of the year 1601; and the reſt was ſent abroad in money and merchandiſe.

Lancaſter, who commanded the expedition, arrived the year following at the port of Achem, which was at that time a very celebrated mart. Intelligence had been received there of the victories gained by the Engliſh over the Spaniards at ſea; and this intelligence procured him a moſt diſtinguiſhed reception. The king behaved to him in the ſame manner as if he had been his equal; he ordered that his own wives, richly habited, ſhould play ſeveral airs in his preſence, on a variety of inſtruments. This favour was followed by all the compliances that could be wiſhed for to facilitate the eſtabliſhment of a ſafe and advantageous commerce. The Engliſh admiral was received at Bantam in the ſame manner as at the place where he firſt landed; and a ſhip, which he had diſpatched to the Molucca iſlands, brought him a conſiderable cargo of cloves and nutmegs. With theſe valuable ſpices, and the pepper he took in at Java and Sumatra, he returned ſafe to Europe.

This early ſucceſs determined the ſociety, who had intruſted their intereſts in the hands of this able man, to form ſettlements in India; but not without the conſent of the natives. They did not wiſh to begin with conqueſts. Their expeditions were nothing more than the enterpriſes of humane and fair traders. They conciliated to themſelves the affection of the people; but this procured them no advantage, except a few factories; and they were in no condition to ſuſtain the rivalſhip of other nations that had made themſelves formidable.

The Portugueſe and the Dutch were in poſſeſſion of

BOOK III.

large provinces, well fortified places, and good harbours. By theſe advantages their trade was ſecured againſt the natives of the country, and againſt new competitors; their return to Europe was facilitated; and they had opportunities of getting a good ſale for the commodities they carried to Aſia, and of purchaſing thoſe they wanted at a moderate price. The Engliſh, on the contrary, expoſed to the caprice of ſeaſons and of the people, having no ſtrength, or place of ſecurity, and deriving their ſupplies from England only, could not, according to the ideas then prevailing, carry on an advantageous trade. They thought that it was difficult to acquire great riches without great injuſtice, and that, in order to ſurpaſs or even equal the nations they had cenſured, they muſt purſue the ſame conduct. This was an error which led them into falſe meaſures. With maxims more ſalutary, they would have been ſenſible, that if goodneſs, mildneſs, benevolence, and humanity, do not lead to proſperity ſo rapidly as violence; yet the power that is fixed upon ſo reſpectable a baſis will be more firm and durable. By tyranny, a precarious authority and a diſturbed poſſeſſion can only be obtained; while that which flows from juſtice, attracts, in the end, every thing to its own centre. The dominion of force is conſidered as a ſcourge; that of virtue as a bleſſing: and I never can be convinced, that it is a matter of indifference, whether we make our appearance before foreign nations in the character of infernal ſpirits, or in that of celeſtial beings.

The plan of forming laſting ſettlements, and of attempting conqueſts, ſeemed too great to be accompliſhed by the forces of an infant ſociety: but they flattered themſelves that they ſhould meet with protection, becauſe they thought themſelves uſeful. They were diſappointed in their expectations. They could obtain nothing from James I. a weak prince, infected with the falſe philoſophy of his age, a man of wit, of a ſubtile and pedantic genius, and better qualified to be at the head of an univerſity than to preſide over an

empire. By their activity, perſeverance, and judicious choice of officers and factors, the Company provided thoſe ſuccours which were refuſed them by their ſovereign. They erected forts, and founded colonies in the iſlands of Java, Poleron, Amboyna, and Banda. In this manner they ſhared the ſpice trade with the Dutch, which will always be the moſt certain branch of eaſtern commerce, becauſe the objects of it are become neceſſary articles of life. It was of more importance at the time we are ſpeaking of, becauſe the luxury which ariſes from caprice had not then made ſo much progreſs in Europe as it has done ſince, and becauſe there was not that prodigious demand for India linens, ſtuffs, teas, and Chineſe varniſh, that there is at preſent.

Diſputes between the Engliſh and Dutch.

The Dutch had not driven the Portugueſe from the ſpice-iſlands with a view of ſuffering a nation to ſettle there, whoſe maritime force, character, and form of government, rendered their rivalſhip ſtill more formidable. They had many advantages on their ſide, ſuch as powerful colonies, a well-exerciſed navy, firm alliances, a great fund of wealth, a knowledge of the country, and of the principles and details of commerce; while the Engliſh, who were deficient in all theſe particulars, were attacked in all poſſible ways.

The firſt ſtep their rival took, was to drive them from the fertile places, where they had formed ſettlements. In the iſlands where their power was leſs eſtabliſhed, they endeavoured, by accuſations, equally void of truth and decency, to make them odious to the natives of the country. Theſe ſhameful expedients not meeting with all the ſucceſs the Dutch expected, thoſe avaricious traders reſolved to proceed to acts of violence. An extraordinary occaſion brought on the commencement of hoſtilities ſooner than it was imagined.

It is a cuſtom at Java for the new-married women to diſpute with their huſbands the firſt favours of love. This kind of conteſt, which the men take a pride in

BOOK III.

terminating immediately, and the women in protracting as long as poſſible, ſometimes laſts ſeveral weeks. From whence can this capricious refinement of coquetry proceed, ſince it exiſts not in the nature of man, nor in that of the brute? Does the Javaneſe woman intend, by this conduct, to inſpire her huſband with confidence in her morals both before and after marriage? Does ſhe mean to irritate his paſſions, which are always more violent in a raviſher than in a favoured lover? Or, does ſhe think of enhancing the value ſhe ſets upon her charms, upon her favours, and upon the ſacrifice of her liberty? The king of Bantam having juſt overcome the reſiſtance of a new bride, made public entertainments in celebration of his triumph. The ſtrangers in the harbour were invited to theſe feſtivals. The Engliſh, unfortunately for them, were treated with too much diſtinction. The Dutch looked with a jealous eye upon this preference, and did not defer revenge a moment. They attack them on all ſides.

The Indian ocean became, at this period, the ſcene of the moſt bloody engagements between the maritime forces of the two nations. They fought out, attacked, and combated each other with the ſpirit of men who choſe to conquer or to die. Equal courage appeared on both ſides, but there was a diſparity in their forces. The Engliſh were on the point of being overcome, when ſome moderate people in Europe, which the flames of war had not reached, endeavoured to find out the means of accommodating their differences. By an infatuation, which it is not eaſy to explain, the very ſtrangeſt of all was adopted.

In 1619, the two companies ſigned a treaty, the purport of which was, that the Molucca iſlands, Amboyna, and Banda, ſhould belong in common to the two nations: that the Engliſh ſhould have one third, and the Dutch two thirds of the produce at a fixed price: that each, in proportion to the benefit they received, ſhould contribute to the defence of theſe

iſlands: that a council, compoſed of ſkilful men, of both parties ſhould regulate all the affairs of commerce at Batavia: that this agreement, guaranteed by the reſpective ſovereigns, ſhould laſt twenty years: and that, if any differences ſhould ariſe during this interval that could not be ſettled by the two companies, they ſhould be determined by the king of Great Britain and the States-General of the United Provinces. Among all the political conventions preſerved in hiſtory, it would be difficult to find a more extraordinary one than this. It met with the fate it deſerved.

The Dutch in India were no ſooner informed of it, than they deviſed means to render it ineffectual. The ſituation of affairs favoured their deſigns. The Spaniards and the Portugueſe had taken advantage of the diſputes between their enemies, to regain the ſettlements in the Moluccas. They might fortify themſelves there; and it was dangerous to give them time. The Engliſh commiſſaries concurred with them in opinion, that it would be beſt to attack them without delay; but added, that they were not in the leaſt prepared to act in concert with them. This declaration, which was expected, was regiſtered; and their aſſociates embarked alone in an expedition, all the advantages of which they reſerved to themſelves. The agents of the Dutch Company had only one ſtep further to go, to get all the ſpices into the hands of their maſters, which was, to drive their rivals from the iſland of Amboyna. The method by which they ſucceeded in this project was very extraordinary.

A Japaneſe, in the Dutch ſervice at Amboyna, made himſelf ſuſpected by his imprudent curioſity. He was ſeized, and confeſſed that he had entered into an engagement with the ſoldiers of his nation, to deliver up the fort to the Engliſh. His comrades confirmed his account, making the ſame confeſſion. Upon theſe unanimous depoſitions, the authors of the conſpiracy, who did not diſavow, but even acknowledged it, were loaded with irons; and the ignominious death which all the criminals were condemned to ſuffer, put an

BOOK III.

end to the plot. This is the account given by the Dutch.

The Engliſh have always conſidered this accuſation as the ſuggeſtion of an unbounded avarice. They have maintained, that it was abſurd to ſuppoſe, that ten factors and eleven foreign ſoldiers could have formed the project of ſeizing upon a place which was garriſoned by two hundred men; that even if theſe unhappy perſons had thought it poſſible to execute ſo extravagant a plan, they would have been diſcouraged by the impoſſibility of obtaining ſuccours to defend them againſt an enemy who would have beſieged them on all ſides. To make a conſpiracy of this kind probable, it requires ſtronger proof than a confeſſion extorted from the accuſed by extremity of torture. The torments of the rack never afforded any other proof, than that of the courage or weakneſs of thoſe whom barbarous cuſtom had condemned to it. Theſe conſiderations, ſtrengthened by ſeveral others almoſt equally convincing, have made the ſtory of the conſpiracy of Amboyna ſo ſuſpected, that it has generally been conſidered as a mere excuſe for the moſt atrocious avarice.

The miniſtry of James I. and the whole nation, were at that time ſo engaged in eccleſiaſtical ſubtleties, and the diſcuſſion of the rights of king and people, that they were not ſenſible of the inſults offered to the Engliſh name in the Eaſt. This indifference produced a caution which ſoon degenerated into weakneſs. Theſe iſlanders, however, maintained the bravery of their character better at Coromandel and Malabar.

Diſputes of the Engliſh with the Portugueſe.

They had eſtabliſhed factories at Mazulipatam, Calicut, and ſeveral other ports, and even at Delhi. Surat, the richeſt mart in theſe countries, tempted their ambition in 1611. The inhabitants were diſpoſed to receive them; but the Portugueſe declared, that if this nation were ſuffered to make a ſettlement, they would burn all the towns upon the coaſt, and ſeize all the Indian veſſels. The government was awed by theſe menaces. Middleton, diſappointed in his hopes,

was obliged to abandon the place, and return through a numerous fleet, to which he did more damage than he received from it.

Captain Thomas Beſt arrived in theſe latitudes the year following, with a very conſiderable force. He was received at Surat without any oppoſition. The agents he carried out with him had ſcarce entered upon their employments when a formidable armament from Goa made its appearance. The Engliſh admiral, reduced to this alternative, either of betraying the intereſts he was intruſted with, or of expoſing himſelf to the greateſt danger in defending them, did not heſitate what part he ſhould take. He twice attacked the Portugueſe, and, notwithſtanding the great inferiority of his ſquadron, gained the victory each time. However, the advantage the vanquiſhed derived from their poſition, their ports, and their fortreſſes, always made the Engliſh navigation in Guzarat very difficult. They were obliged to maintain a conſtant ſtruggle againſt an obſtinate enemy that was not diſcouraged by defeats. No tranquillity was to be obtained, but at the price of new conteſts and new triumphs.

The news of theſe glorious ſucceſſes againſt a nation which had hitherto been thought invincible, reached as far as the capital of Perſia. The Engliſh form connections with Perſia.

This vaſt country, ſo celebrated in antiquity, appears to have been free at the firſt inſtitution of its government. The monarchy roſe upon the ruins of a depraved republic. The Perſians were long happy under this form of government; their manners were as ſimple as their laws. At length, the ſovereigns were inſpired with the ſpirit of conqueſt. At that time, the treaſures of Aſſyria, the ſpoils of many trading nations, and the tribute ariſing from a vaſt number of provinces, brought immenſe riches into the empire, which ſoon occaſioned a total alteration. The diſorders roſe to ſuch a pitch, that the care of the public amuſements ſeemed to engage the chief attention of government.

A people, totally devoted to pleaſure, could not fail,

BOOK III.

in a ſhort time, of being reduced to ſlavery. They were ſucceſſively brought into that ſtate by the Macedonians, the Parthians, the Arabians, and the Tartars, and towards the cloſe of the fifteenth century by the Sophis, who pretended to be the deſcendants of Aly, author of the famous reformation, by which Mohammediſm was divided into two branches.

No prince of this new race made himſelf ſo famous as Schah-Abbas, ſurnamed the Great. He conquered Candahar, ſeveral places of importance upon the Black Sea, part of Arabia, and drove the Turks out of Georgia, Armenia, Meſopotamia, and all the countries they had conquered beyond the Euphrates.

Theſe victories produced remarkable changes in the interior adminiſtration of the empire. The great men took advantage of the civil broils to make themſelves independent; they were degraded, and all poſts of conſequence were given to ſtrangers, who had neither the power nor inclination to raiſe factions. The army having taken upon themſelves to diſpoſe of the crown at their pleaſure; they were reſtrained by foreign troops, whoſe religion and cuſtoms were different. Anarchy had inclined the people to ſedition; and to prevent this, the towns and villages were filled with inhabitants choſen out of nations whoſe manners and character bore no reſemblance to thoſe of the ancient inhabitants. Theſe arrangements gave riſe to a deſpotiſm the moſt abſolute, perhaps, that any country has ever experienced.

It is a matter of aſtoniſhment, that the great Abbas ſhould have combined ſome views of public utility with this government, which was naturally oppreſſive. He patronized the arts, and eſtabliſhed them in the capital and in the provinces. All perſons who brought into his dominions talents of any kind, were ſure of being well received, aſſiſted, and rewarded. He would often ſay, that ſtrangers were the beſt ornaments of an empire, and added more to the dignity of the prince than the pomp of the moſt refined luxury.

While Perſia was riſing from its ruins by the diffe-

rent branches of induſtry that were every where eſtabliſhed, a number of Armenians, tranſplanted to Iſpahan, carried the ſpirit of commerce into the heart of the empire. In a little time, theſe traders, and the natives of the country who followed their example, ſpread themſelves over the Eaſt, into Holland, England, the Mediterranean, and the Baltic, and whereever commerce was carried on with ſpirit and advantage. The Sophi himſelf bore a part in their enterpriſes, and advanced them conſiderable ſums, which they employed to advantage in the moſt celebrated marts in the world. They were obliged to return the capital on the terms agreed upon, and if they had increaſed it by their induſtry, he granted them ſome recompenſe.

The Portugueſe, who found that part of the Indian trade with Aſia and Europe was likely to be diverted to Perſia, impoſed reſtraints upon it. They would not ſuffer the Perſians to purchaſe merchandiſe any where but from their magazines: they fixed the price of it; and if they ſometimes allowed it to be taken at the places where it was manufactured, it was always to be carried in their own bottoms, charging all expences of freight and exorbitant cuſtoms. This ſtretch of power diſpleaſed the great Abbas, who being informed of the reſentment of the Engliſh, propoſed to unite their maritime ſtrength with his land forces, to beſiege Ormus. This place was attacked by the combined arms of the two nations, and taken in the year 1623, after a conteſt that laſted two months. The conquerors divided the ſpoil, which was immenſe, and afterwards totally demoliſhed the place.

Three or four leagues from hence the harbour of Gombroon preſented itſelf, ſince called Bender-Abaſſi. Nature ſeemed not to have deſigned that it ſhould be inhabited. It is ſituated at the foot of a ridge of mountains of an exceſſive height; the air you breathe ſeems to be on fire; fatal vapours are continually exhaling from the bowels of the earth; the fields are black and dry, as if they had been ſcorched with fire.

BOOK III. Notwithſtanding theſe inconveniences, as Bender-Abaſſi had the advantage of being placed at the entrance of the Gulf, the Perſian monarch choſe to make it the centre of the extenſive trade he intended to carry on with India. The Engliſh joined in this project. A perpetual exemption from all impoſts, and a moiety of the product of the cuſtoms, were granted them, on condition that they ſhould maintain, at leaſt, two men of war in the Gulf. This precaution was thought neceſſary to fruſtrate the attemps of the Portugueſe, whoſe reſentment was ſtill to be dreaded.

From this time Bender-Abaſſi, which was before a poor fiſhing town, became a flouriſhing city. The Engliſh carried thither ſpices, pepper, and ſugar, from the markets of the Eaſt; and iron, lead, and cloths, from the ports of Europe. The profits ariſing from theſe commodities were increaſed by the very high freight paid them by the Armenians, who were ſtill in poſſeſſion of the richeſt branch of the Indian commerce.

Theſe merchants had, for a long time, been concerned in the linen trade. They had never been ſupplanted either by the Portugueſe, who were intent only on plunder, or by the Dutch, whoſe attention was totally confined to the ſpice trade. They might, nevertheleſs, be apprehenſive, that they ſhould not be able to withſtand the competition of a people who were equally rich, induſtrious, active, and frugal. The Armenians acted then as they have ever done ſince: the went to India, where they bought cotton, which they ſent to the ſpinners; the cloths were manufactured under their own inſpection, and carried to Gombroon, from whence they were tranſported to Iſpahan. From thence they were conveyed into the different provinces of the empire, the dominions of the Grand Signior, and into Europe, where the cuſtom has prevailed of calling them Perſian manufactures, though they were never made but on the coaſt of Coromandel. Such is the influence of names upon opinions, that the vulgar error, which attributes to Perſia the

manufacture of India, will, in a ſeries of ages, perhaps, paſs with the learned in future times for an inconteſtible truth. The inſurmountable difficulties which errors of this kind have occaſioned in the hiſtory of Pliny, and other ancient writers, ſhould induce us to ſet a high value on the labours of the literati of this age, who collect the works of nature and of art, with a view of tranſmitting them to poſterity.

In exchange for the merchandiſe they carried to Perſia, they gave the following articles, which were either the produce of their own ſoil, or the fruits of their induſtry.

Silk, which was the principal commodity; and was prepared and exported in great quantities.

Caramanian wool, which nearly reſembles that of the Vicuna. It was of great uſe in the manufacture of hats, and of ſome ſtuffs. It is a remarkable circumſtance in the goats which ſupply it, that in the month of May the fleece falls off of itſelf.

Turquoiſes, which were more or leſs valuable, according as they were procured from one or other of the three mines that produce them. They were formerly an article of the dreſs of our ladies.

Gold brocades, which ſold at a higher price than any of thoſe which are the produce of the moſt celebrated manufactures. Some of them were made to be worn on one, and others on both ſides. They were uſed for window-curtains, ſkreens, and magnificent ſophas.

Tapeſtry, which has ſince been ſo well imitated in Europe, and has for a long time been the richeſt furniture of our rooms.

Morocco leather, which, as other ſkins, is brought to a degree of perfection that cannot be equalled any where elſe.

Shagreen, goats hair, roſe-water, medicinal roots, gums for colours, dates, horſes, arms, and many other articles, of which ſome were ſold in India, and others carried to Europe.

Although the Dutch had contrived to get all the

BOOK III.

trade of the Eaſt Indies into their hands, they viewed the tranſactions of Perſia with a jealous eye. They thought the privileges enjoyed by their rivals in the road of Bender-Abaſſi might be compenſated by the advantage they had in having a greater quantity of ſpices, and entered into a competition with them.

Decline of the Engliſh in India.

The Engliſh, haraſſed in every mart by a powerful enemy reſolutely bent on their deſtruction, were obliged every where to give way. Their fate was haſtened by thoſe civil and religious diſſenſions, which drowned their country in blood, and extinguiſhed all ſentiment and knowledge. India was totally forgotten, while more important intereſts were at ſtake; and the Company, oppreſſed and diſcouraged, were reduced to nothing at the time that the death of Charles I. afforded ſo inſtructive and dreadful a leſſon.

Cromwell, enraged at the favours the Dutch had ſhown to the unfortunate family of the Stuarts, and at the aſylum they had afforded to the Engliſh who had been proſcribed; and piqued that the republic of the United Provinces ſhould pretend to the dominion of the ſea; proud of his ſucceſs, and ſenſible of his own ſtrength, and of that of the nation under his command, reſolved at the ſame time to inſpire reſpect for his country, and to avenge himſelf. He declared war againſt the Dutch.

Of all the maritime wars which have been recorded in hiſtory, none were conducted with more knowledge, or were more famous for the ſkill of the commanders and the bravery of the ſailors; none have abounded with ſo many obſtinate and bloody engagements. The Engliſh gained the ſuperiority, and owed it to the ſize of their ſhips, in which particular they have ſince been imitated by other European nations.

The Protector, whoſe voice was law, did not exert himſelf as far as he might in favour of India. He contented himſelf with providing for the ſecurity of the Engliſh trade, procuring a diſavowal of the maſſacre at Amboyna, and inſiſting upon an indemnification for the deſcendants of the unhappy victims who pe-

ed in that dreadful tranſaction. No mention was made in the treaty of the forts taken from the nation by the Dutch in the iſland of Java, and in ſeveral of the Moluccas. It was ſtipulated, indeed, that the iſland of Puleron ſhould be returned; but the trees that furniſh the ſpices were all rooted up before the iſland was reſtored to its former maſters. As the ſoil, however, ſtill remained, and that in proceſs of time it might prove an obſtacle to the monopoly which Holland meant to eſtabliſh, it was retaken in 1666; and the republic could never be prevailed upon by the entreaties of France to give it up.

Revival of the Engliſh trade in India.

Notwithſtanding this neglect, as ſoon as the Company had obtained from the Protector a renewal of their privileges in 1657, and found themſelves firmly ſupported by the public authority, they ſhowed a ſpirit of reſolution which they had loſt during their late misfortunes. Their courage increaſed with their privileges.

The ſucceſs they had met with in Europe accompanied them into Aſia, Arabia, Perſia, Indoſtan, the eaſtern parts of India, China; and all the markets where the Engliſh had formerly traded were opened to them. They were even received with more frankneſs and leſs diſtruſt than they had experienced formerly. Their trade was carried on with great activity, and their profits were very conſiderable; nothing was wanting to complete their ſucceſs but to gain admittance into Japan, which they attempted. But the Japaneſe, being informed by the Dutch that the king of England had married a daughter of the king of Portugal, refuſed to admit the Engliſh into their ports.

Notwithſtanding this diſappointment, the Company's affairs were in a very flouriſhing condition: they flattered themſelves with the pleaſing hopes of giving a greater extent and ſecurity to their trade, when they found their career retarded by a rivalſhip, which their own ſucceſs created.

Misfortunes and miſconduct

Some traders, fired with the relation of the advantages to be obtained in India, reſolved to undertake

BOOK III.

of the Engliſh in India.

voyages to that country. Charles II. who, though ſeated on the throne, was nothing more than a private man of voluptuous and diſſolute manners, gave them permiſſion for a valuable conſideration; while, on the other hand, he extorted large ſums from the Company, to enable him to proſecute thoſe who encroached upon their charter. A competition of this nature would unavoidably degenerate into piracy. The Engliſh, thus becoming enemies to each other, carried on their diſputes with a ſpirit of rancour and animoſity which lowered them in the opinion of the people of Aſia.

The Dutch wiſhed to take advantage of ſo ſingular a conjuncture. Theſe republicans had for a long time been abſolute maſters of the Indian trade. They had ſeen with regret a part of it taken out of their hands at the concluſion of the civil wars in England. They hoped to recover it by the ſuperiority of their forces, when in 1664 the two nations entered into a war in all parts of the world; but the hoſtilities did not continue long enough to anſwer theſe ſanguine expectations. As the peace prevented them from having recourſe to open violence againſt one another, they reſolved to attack the ſovereigns of the country, to oblige them to ſhut their ports againſt their rival. The fooliſh and deſpicable behaviour of the Engliſh increaſed the inſolence of the Dutch, who proceeded ſo far as to drive them ignominiouſly from Bantam in 1680.

So ſerious and public an inſult rouſed the ſpirit of the Engliſh Company. The deſire of re-eſtabliſhing their character, gratifying their revenge, and maintaining their intereſts, animated them to the moſt ſpirited exertions. They equipped a fleet of twenty-three ſhips, with eight thouſand regular troops on board. They were ready to ſail, when their departure was poſtponed by the king's orders. Charles, whoſe neceſſities and licentiouſneſs were unbounded, entertained hopes of receiving an immenſe ſum to induce him to revoke this order. As he could not obtain it from

his ſubjects, he was reſolved to receive it from his ene- BOOK
mies. He ſacrificed the honour and trade of his na- III.
tion for 2,250,000 livres [93,749l.], which were paid him by the Dutch, who were intimidated by theſe great preparations. The intended expedition never took place.

The Company, exhauſted by the expences of an armament which had been rendered uſeleſs by the venality of the court, ſent their veſſels to India without the neceſſary funds to ſupply the cargoes; but with orders to the factors, if poſſible, to take them upon credit. The faith they had hitherto obſerved in their engagements procured them 6,750,000 livres [281,250l.]. Nothing can be more extraordinary than the method that was taken to pay them back.

Joſias Child, who from being a director was become the tyrant of the Company, is ſaid, unknown to his colleagues, to have ſent orders to India, to invent ſome pretence or other to defraud the lenders of their money. The execution of this iniquitous project was intruſted to his brother John Child, who was governor of Bombay. This avaricious, turbulent, and ſavage man, immediately proceeded to make ſeveral claims upon the governor of Surat, ſome more ridiculous than others. Theſe demands being anſwered as they deſerved, he attacked all the veſſels belonging to the ſubjects of the crown of Delhi, and ſingled out in particular the ſhips from Surat, as being the richeſt. He paid no regard to veſſels that ſailed with paſſports from that crown, and carried his inſolence ſo far as to ſeize a fleet laden with proviſion for the Mogul's army. This terrible pillage, which laſted the whole year 1688, occaſioned incredible loſſes throughout all Indoſtan.

Aurengzebe, who held the reins of the empire with a ſteady hand, did not loſe a moment in revenging ſo great an outrage. In the beginning of the year 1689, one of his lieutenants landed with twenty thouſand men at Bombay, an iſland of conſequence on the coaſt of Malabar, which a princeſs of Portugal had brought

BOOK III. as her dowry to Charles II. and which that monarch had ceded to the Company in 1668. On the enemy's approach, the fort of Magazan was abandoned with ſuch precipitation, that money, proviſions, ſeveral cheſts of arms, and fourteen pieces of heavy cannon, were left behind. The Indian general, encouraged by this firſt advantage, attacked the Engliſh in the field, routed them, and obliged them to retire into the principal fortreſs, which he inveſted, where he hoped ſoon to make them ſurrender.

Child, who was as cowardly in time of danger as he had been daring in his piracies, immediately diſpatched deputies to the emperor's court to ſue for pardon. After many entreaties, and much ſubmiſſion, the Engliſh were admitted into the emperor's preſence with their hands tied, and their faces towards the ground. Aurengzebe, who was deſirous of preſerving a connection which he thought would be uſeful to his ſubjects, was not inflexible. Having delivered himſelf in the ſtyle of an incenſed ſovereign, who could, and ought, perhaps, to revenge himſelf, he yielded to their entreaties and ſubmiſſion. The removal of the author of the troubles, and an adequate compenſation for ſuch of his ſubjects as had been plundered, was all the juſtice exacted on this occaſion by the ſupreme will of the moſt deſpotic monarch that ever exiſted. On theſe moderate terms, the Engliſh were permitted ſtill to enjoy the privileges they had obtained at different times in the roads belonging to the Mogul.

Thus ended this unhappy affair, which for ſeveral years interrupted the trade of the Company, brought on an expence of between nine and ten millions [on an average about 416,000l.], occaſioned the loſs of five large veſſels, and a greater number of ſmall ones; deſtroyed many thouſand excellent ſailors, and ended in the ruin of the credit and honour of the nation; two particulars, the value of which is above every conſideration, and for which the two Childs ought to have forfeited their lives.

By changing their maxims and their conduct, the

Company might have flattered themſelves with the proſpect of being extricated from the abyſs into which their own behaviour had plunged them. Theſe hopes were ſoon daſhed by a revolution which did not directly concern them. James II. a tyrannical and fanatic prince, but one who underſtood maritime affairs and commerce better than any of his cotemporaries, was depoſed. This event put all Europe in arms. The conſequences of theſe bloody quarrels are well known. Perhaps it is not a matter of ſuch univerſal notoriety that the French privateers took four thouſand two hundred Engliſh merchantmen, valued at ſix hundred ſeventy-five millions of livres [28,125,000l.], and that the greateſt part of the veſſels returning from India were included in this fatal liſt.

Theſe depredations were ſucceeded by a commercial arrangement, which muſt naturally haſten the ruin of the Company. The French refugees had carried the culture of flax and hemp into Ireland and Scotland. For the encouragement of this branch of induſtry, it was thought proper to prohibit the wear of Indian linens, except muſlins, and thoſe which were neceſſary for the African trade. Was it poſſible, that a body already exhauſted ſhould ſuſtain ſo unforeſeen, ſo heavy a ſtroke?

The peace, which ſhould have put an end to theſe misfortunes, filled up the meaſure of them. A general clamour was raiſed in the three kingdoms againſt the Company. It was not their decline that raiſed them enemies; it only encouraged thoſe they had already. They had met with oppoſition at their firſt eſtabliſhment. Ever ſince the year 1615, ſeveral politicians had declaimed againſt the trade to the Eaſt Indies. They aſſerted, that it weakened the naval ſtrength, by deſtroying great numbers of men; and leſſened the Levant and Ruſſian commerce, without affording an equivalent advantage. Theſe clamours, though contradicted by judicious people, grew ſo violent towards the year 1628, that the Company, ſeeing themſelves expoſed to the odium of the nation, appli-

BOOK III.

ed to government. They petitioned, that the nature of their commerce might be examined: that it might be prohibited, if it were contrary to the intereſts of the ſtate; and, if favourable to them, that it might be authoriſed by a public declaration. The oppoſition of the nation, which had lain ſome time dormant, was renewed with more fury than ever, at the period we are ſpeaking of. Thoſe who were leſs ſevere in their ſpeculations, conſented to a trade with India; but maintained, that it ſhould be laid open to the whole nation. An excluſive charter was, in their opinion, a manifeſt encroachment upon liberty. According to them, government was eſtabliſhed by the people, with a view of advancing the general good; and it would be a crime againſt it, to ſacrifice public to private intereſts, by tolerating odious monopolies. They ſupported this uſeful and inconteſtible principle, by appealing to a recent inſtance. They urged, that, during the rebellion, the private merchants who had got poſſeſſion of the Aſiatic ſeas, carried double the quantity of national goods that were formerly brought, and were enabled to ſell commodities, on their return, at ſo low a price, as to ſupplant the Dutch in all European markets. But thoſe acute republicans, who were certain of their ruin, if the Engliſh ſhould continue any longer to conduct their affairs on the principles of univerſal liberty, bribed ſome perſons to prevail with Cromwell to form a ſeparate Company. Theſe ſecret practices were countenanced by the Engliſh merchants concerned in that trade, who hoped for greater advantages in future; when, being the only venders, they might impoſe what terms they pleaſed upon the conſumers. The protector, deceived by the artful inſinuations of both, renewed the charter, but for ſeven years only, that he might alter his conduct, if he found reaſon to think he had taken a wrong ſtep.

This ſtep did not appear improper to every one. Several people were of opinion, that the trade to India could not be carried on with advantage, without an excluſive privilege; but many of them maintained,

that the preſent charter was inſufficient, becauſe it had been granted by kings who had no right to grant it. They recited many acts of this kind, which were abrogated by parliament, in the reigns of Edward III. Henry IV. James I. and other princes. Charles II. indeed, obtained a verdict of this nature in the court of common pleas, but it was founded upon a frivolous pretence. This tribunal had the confidence to declare, *That the prince had authority to prevent his ſubjects from holding commerce with infidels, leſt the purity of their faith ſhould be contaminated.*

Though the parties above mentioned were actuated by private, and even oppoſite views, they all united in the plan of making the trade free, or, at leaſt, of procuring the reverſal of the Company's charter. The nation, in general, were on their ſide: but the body that was attacked, defended itſelf by its partiſans, the miniſtry, and all the dependents of the court, who made this a common cauſe. Each party had recourſe to libels, intrigue, and corruption. Theſe contending paſſions produced one of thoſe ſtorms, the violence of which can hardly be felt any where but in England. The ſeveral factions, ſects, and intereſts, maintained a furious combat; in which they all mingled, without diſtinction of rank, age, or ſex. Such a ſpirit of enthuſiaſm had never been raiſed by the greateſt events. To keep up the zeal of their friends, the Company offered to lend large ſums, on condition of obtaining their charter. Their adverſaries made offers ſtill more conſiderable, to get it revoked.

The two houſes of parliament, before whom this cauſe was heard, declared in favour of the private merchants. They obtained leave to carry on trade to India, either ſeparately, or in concert. They entered into an aſſociation, and formed a new Company. The old one had permiſſion to continue its voyages till the expiration of their charter, which was very near at hand. Thus England had two Eaſt India Companies at the ſame time, authoriſed by parliament, inſtead of one, eſtabliſhed by royal authority.

BOOK III.

These two bodies showed as much zeal for the destruction of each other, as they had shown for their respective establishment. They had both experienced the advantages of trade, and viewed each other with all the jealousy and hatred which ambition and avarice never fail to inspire. Their dissensions soon broke out with considerable violence in Europe, but chiefly in India. At last, the two societies made advances towards a reconciliation, and united their funds in 1702. From this period, the affairs of the Company were carried on with greater propriety, prudence, and dignity. The principles of commerce, which were every day better understood in England, had a good effect on their administration, as far as the interests of their monopoly could allow. They made improvements in their former settlements, and formed new ones. They endeavoured to indemnify themselves for the profits they were deprived of by a strong competition, by procuring a larger sale for their commodities. Their charter was less violently attacked, since it had received the sanction of the laws, and obtained the protection of parliament.

Their prosperity was interrupted by some transient misfortunes. In 1702, the English had formed a settlement in the island of Pulocondor, which was dependent on Cochin-China. Their design was to take a share in the commerce of this rich kingdom, which, till then, had been too much neglected. An instance of excessive severity had given disgust to sixteen soldiers of Macassar, who were part of the garrison. On the 3d of March 1705, they set fire, in the night, to the houses belonging to the fort, and massacred the Europeans as they came out to extinguish it. Thirty but of forty-five lost their lives in this manner; the rest were massacred by the natives, who were exasperated at the insolence of these strangers. By this accident, the Company lost the money their enterprise had cost them, together with the stock of their factories, and the prospects they had entertained.

Several of their factories were threatened with other

ſtorms, which had been collected by the turbulent ſpirit and avarice of their agents. A more moderate ſyſtem of politics made them forego ſome odious claims, and tranquillity was ſoon reſtored. It was not long before objects of more important concern engaged their attention.

War between the Engliſh and French.

England and France entered into a war in 1744. The whole world became the ſcene of their diviſions. In India, as well as in other places, each nation ſuſtained its character. The Engliſh, ever animated with the ſpirit of commerce, attacked and ruined that of their enemies. The French, adhering to their paſſion for conqueſt, ſeized upon the principal ſettlement belonging to their rival. The event ſhowed which of the two nations had acted with the greateſt prudence. That which attended only to its own aggrandizement, ſank into a total inactivity; while the other, though deprived of the centre of its power, carried its enterpriſes to a greater extent.

A ceſſation of hoſtilities between the two divided nations had no ſooner taken place, than they engaged themſelves as auxiliaries in the quarrels of the Indian princes. Soon after, they again took arms on their own account. Before the end of this war, the French were driven out of the continent and ſeas of Aſia. At the concluſion of the peace in 1763, the Engliſh Company found themſelves in poſſeſſion of the power in Arabia, in the Perſian Gulf, on the coaſts of Malabar and Coromandel, and at Bengal.

All theſe countries differ from each other in the climate, the manners, the ſoil, the productions, the ſpirit of induſtry, and the mode of ſelling and purchaſing. They ought to be accurately and thoroughly known. We will give a ſhort ſketch of them. This deſcription will be found to have a particular connection with the hiſtory of a nation which has obtained a remarkable influence in thoſe countries, and derives from thence the greateſt advantages.

Deſcription of Arabia. Revolu-

Arabia is one of the largeſt peninſulas in the known world. It is bounded on the ſouth by the Indian

BOOK III.

tions it has experienced. Character of its inhabitants.

Ocean; by the Gulf of Perſia on the eaſt; and on the weſt by the Red Sea, which ſeparates it from Africa: on the north, a line drawn at the extremity of the two gulfs, probably marked out its boundary in ancient times. Irac-Arabi, the deſert of Syria, and Paleſtine, ſeem at preſent to make a part of it.

The peninſula is divided, from north to ſouth, by a chain of mountains, leſs barren, and more temperate, than the reſt of the country. The rain falls upon moſt of them for two or three months, at leaſt, in the year, but at different ſeaſons, according to their expoſition. The waters that deſcend from them are loſt among the ſands in the valleys, or pour down in torrents into the ſea, in proportion to the ſlope and diſtances. In one ſeaſon, the heat is ſo violent, that no perſon travels, and that even the ſlaves do not appear in the ſtreets, without an urgent neceſſity. Every kind of labour is then ſuſpended in the middle of the day. The greateſt part of the time is paſſed in ſleeping in ſubterraneous caverns, the air of which is renewed only by a tube.

This country is uſually divided into three parts; Arabia Petræa, Arabia Deſerta, and Arabia Felix; names which denote the nature of the ſoil in each of theſe countries.

Arabia Petræa is the moſt weſtern, and the ſmalleſt of the three. It is, for the moſt part, uncultivated, and almoſt totally covered with rocks. In Arabia Deſerta, nothing is to be ſeen but dry plains, heaps of ſand raiſed and diſſipated by the wind, and ſteep mountains never embelliſhed with verdure. Springs are ſo rarely found there, that the poſſeſſion of them is always diſputed with the ſword. Arabia Felix owes its ſpecious appellation leſs to its fertility, than to its vicinity to the barren countries that ſurround it. Theſe different regions enjoy a ſky conſtantly pure and ſerene.

All hiſtories agree, that this country was peopled at a moſt early period of antiquity. Its firſt inhabitants came probably from Syria and Chaldea. It is not

known at what period they began to be civilized; whether their knowledge was derived from India, or whether they acquired it themſelves. It appears, that their religion was Sabeiſm, even before they were acquainted with the people of Upper Aſia. They had conceived ſublime ideas of the divinity at an early period: they worſhipped the ſtars as bodies animated by celeſtial ſpirits: their religion was neither cruel nor abſurd; and though they were liable to thoſe ſallies of enthuſiaſm ſo common among the ſouthern nations, they do not ſeem to have been tainted with fanaticiſm till the time of Mohammed. The inhabitants of Arabia Deſerta profeſſed a leſs rational kind of worſhip. Many of them worſhipped, and ſome offered human ſacrifices to the ſun. It is a truth that may be collected from the ſtudy of hiſtory, and the inſpection of the globe, that the religious ſyſtems in barren countries, ſubject to inundations and volcanos, have ever had a tincture of cruelty, and have always been of a milder caſt in countries more favoured by nature. They take their character from the climate where they are formed. BOOK III.

When Mohammed had eſtabliſhed a new religion in his country, it was no difficult taſk to infuſe a ſpirit of zeal into his followers; and this zeal made them conquerors. They extended their dominion from the weſtern ſeas to thoſe of China, and from the Canaries to the Molucca iſlands. They alſo carried along with them the uſeful arts, which they improved. The Arabians did not equally ſucceed in the fine arts; they ſhowed, indeed, ſome genius for them, but had not the leaſt idea of that taſte with which nature ſome time after inſpired the people who became their diſciples.

Perhaps genius, which is the offspring of a creative imagination, flouriſhes in hot countries, which abound with a variety of productions, grand ſcenes, and ſurpriſing events that excite enthuſiaſm; while taſte, which ſelects and reaps the produce of the fields that genius has ſown, ſeems rather to belong to people of a ſedate,

BOOK III.

mild, and moderate diſpoſition, who live under the influence of a temperate ſky. Perhaps too, this ſame taſte, which is the effect of reaſon refined and matured by time, requires a degree of ſtability in the government, united with a certain freedom of thinking, a gradual improvement of knowledge, which, affording a greater ſcope to genius, enables it to diſcern more exactly the relation one object has to another, and to combine with happier art thoſe mixed ſenſations which give the higheſt entertainment to men of elegant minds. Accordingly, the Arabians, who were almoſt conſtantly forced into regions diſturbed with war and fanaticiſm, never enjoyed that temperature of government and climate which gives birth to taſte. But they introduced into the countries they conquered, ſciences which they had pillaged, as it were, in the courſe of their ravages, and all the arts eſſential to the proſperity of nations.

No nation at that time underſtood commerce ſo well, or carried it to a greater extent. They attended to it even in the courſe of their conqueſts. Their merchants, manufactures, and ſtaples, extended from Spain to Tonquin; and other people, at leaſt theſe in the weſtern part of the world, were indebted to them for arts and ſciences, and all articles conducive to the convenience, the preſervation, and the pleaſures of life.

When the power of the Caliphs began to decline, the Arabians, after the example of ſeveral nations they had ſubdued, threw off the yoke of theſe princes, and the country re-aſſumed by degrees its ancient form of government, as well as its primitive manners. At this era, the nation being, as formerly, divided into tribes, under the conduct of different chiefs, returned to their original character, from which fanaticiſm and ambition had made them depart.

The ſtature of the Arabians is low, their bodies lean, and their voice ſlender; but they have robuſt conſtitutions, brown hair, a ſwarthy complexion, black ſparkling eyes, a witty but ſeldom an agreeable coun-

tenance. This contraſted mixture of feature and qualities, which ſeem incompatible, appear to have been united in this race of men, to conſtitute a ſingular nation, whoſe figure and character partake ſtrongly of that of the Turks, Africans, and Perſians, by whom they are ſurrounded. Grave and ſerious, they conſider their long beards as marks of dignity; they ſpeak little, uſe no geſture, make no pauſes, nor interrupt one another in their converſation. They pique themſelves on obſerving the ſtricteſt probity towards each other, which is the effect of that ſelf-love, and that ſpirit of patriotiſm, which, united together, make any nation, clan, or ſociety, eſteem and prefer themſelves to the reſt of the world. The more carefully they preſerve their phlegmatic character, ſo much the more formidable is their reſentment when once it is raiſed. Theſe people have abilities, and even a genius for the ſciences; yet they cultivate them but little, either from want of aſſiſtance, or becauſe they have no occaſion for them: chooſing rather, no doubt, to ſuffer natural evils, than the inconvenience of labour. The Arabians of our days diſplay no monument of genius, no productions of induſtry, which entitle them to hold any rank in the hiſtory of the human mind.

Their ruling paſſion is jealouſy; that torment of impetuous, weak, and indolent minds. It might naturally be aſked, whether this diſtruſt were owing to the high or contemptible opinion they entertained of themſelves? It is ſaid to be from the Arabians that ſeveral nations of Aſia, Africa, and even Europe itſelf, have borrowed thoſe deſpicable precautions this odious paſſion preſcribes againſt a ſex, which ought to be the guardian, not the ſlave of our pleaſures. As ſoon as a daughter is born, they unite, by a kind of ſuture, thoſe parts which nature has ſeparated, leaving juſt ſpace enough for the natural diſcharges. As the child grows, the parts by degrees adhere ſo cloſely, that when they become marriageable they are obliged to be ſeparated by an inciſion. Sometimes it is thought ſuf-

BOOK III.

ficient to make uſe of a ring. The married, as well as the unmaried women, are ſubjected to this outrage on the virtue of the ſex; with this difference only, that the ring worn by the young women cannot be taken off, whereas that of the married women has a kind of padlock, of which the huſband keeps the key. This cuſtom, which is known in all parts of Arabia, is almoſt univerſally adopted in that part which bears the name of Petræa.

Such are the manners of the nation in general. The different mode of living among the people who compoſe it, muſt neceſſarily have introduced ſome peculiarities of character that are worth obſerving.

The number of Arabians who inhabit the deſert may amount to two millions. They are diſtributed into ſeveral clans, ſome of which are more populous and conſiderable than others, but all independent of each other. Their government is ſimple: an hereditary chief, aſſiſted by a few old men, determines all debates, and puniſhes the offenders. If he be hoſpitable, humane, and juſt, they adore him; if haughty, cruel, and avaricious, they aſſaſſinate him, and appoint a ſucceſſor out of his own family.

Theſe people encamp at all ſeaſons of the year. They have no ſettled abode, and fix at different places where they can be ſupplied with water, fruits, and paſture. They find an infinite charm in this wandering life, and conſider the ſedentary Arabs in the light of ſlaves. They live upon the milk and fleſh of their herds. Their clothes, tents, cordage, and the carpets they ſleep upon, are all made of the wool of their ſheep, and the hair of their goats and camels. This is the employment of the women in each family; and there is not a ſingle artiſt in the whole deſert. What they conſume in tobacco, coffee, rice, and dates, is purchaſed with the butter they carry to the frontiers, and by the money ariſing from the annual ſale of more than twenty thouſand camels. Theſe animals, ſo uſeful in the Eaſt, were formerly carried to Syria. Moſt

of them are now ſent to Perſia, the perpetual wars there having occaſioned an extraordinary demand for them, and diminiſhed their ſpecies. BOOK III.

Theſe articles not being ſufficient to ſupply the Arabs with what they want, they have contrived to raiſe a contribution on the caravans, which ſuperſtition leads to travel through their ſandy regions. The moſt numerous of theſe, which goes from Damaſcus to Mecca, procures a ſafe paſſage by a tribute of a hundred purſes, or a hundred and fifty thouſand livres [6250l.], to which the Grand Signior is ſubjected, and which, by ancient agreement, is diſtributed among all the hordes. The other caravans make ſimilar terms with the hordes through whoſe territories they were obliged to paſs.

Independent of this reſource, the Arabs inhabiting the moſt northern part of the deſert have had recourſe to plunder. Theſe people, ſo humane, faithful, and diſintereſted towards each other, are ſavage and rapacious in their tranſactions with foreigners. While they preſerve in their tents the character of beneficent and generous hoſts, they commit continual depredations in the towns and villages of their neighbourhood. They are good fathers, good huſbands, and good maſters; but all are enemies who do not belong to their family. They frequently carry their incurſions to a great diſtance; and Syria, Meſopotamia, and Perſia, are not uncommonly the ſcenes of their depredations.

The Arabs, who devote themſelves to plunder, form a ſort of ſociety with the camels, to carry on trade or war, where the man is to have all the profit, and the animal the principal fatigue. As theſe two beings are to live together, they are brought up with a view to each other. The Arab trains his camel from its birth to all the exerciſes and hardſhips it is to undergo during the whole courſe of its life. He accuſtoms it to labour hard, and to eat little. The animal is early inured to paſs its days without drinking, and its nights without ſleep. He teaches it to draw up its legs under its belly, while it ſuffers itſelf to be laden with burdens, that are inſenſibly increaſed as its

BOOK III.

ſtrength is improved by age, and by the habit of bearing fatigue. In this ſingular plan of education, which princes ſometimes adopt the more eaſily to tame their ſubjects, in proportion as the labour of the animal is doubled, its ſubſiſtence is diminiſhed. The Arabians qualify the camels for expedition, by matches, in which the horſe runs againſt him. The camel, leſs active and nimble, tires out his rival in a long courſe. When the maſter and the camel are ready and equipped for plunder, they ſet out together, traverſe the ſandy deſerts, and lie in ambuſh upon the confines to rob the merchant or traveller. The man ravages, maſſacres, and ſeizes the prey; and the camel carries the booty. If theſe adventurers are purſued, they make a precipitate retreat. The maſter robber mounts his favourite camel, drives the whole troop before him, travels three hundred leagues in eight days without unloading his camels, or allowing them more than an hour each day for reſt, or a cake of dough for their ſubſiſtence. They ſometimes remain the whole time without drinking, unleſs they happen to ſmell out a ſpring at a little diſtance from the road, when they redouble their pace, run to the water with eagerneſs, which makes them take at one draught as much as is ſufficient to quench their preſent thirſt, and ſerve them to the end of their journey. Such is the animal ſo often celebrated in the Bible, the Coran, and the eaſtern romances.

The Arabs, who live in diſtricts that afford ſome ſlender paſture, and where the ſoil is proper for barley, breed the fineſt horſes in the world. Theſe horſes are ſent into all parts to improve and multiply the breed of theſe animals, which are every where inferior in ſwiftneſs, beauty, and ſagacity, to thoſe of Arabia. Their owners live with them as with domeſtics, on whoſe ſervice and affection they can rely: and it happens with them as with all other wandering people, thoſe, in particular, who treat animals with kindneſs, that both the men and the animals partake, in ſome meaſure, of each other's manners and diſpoſition. Theſe Arabs are ſimple, mild, and docile: and the different

religions that have prevailed in theſe countries, and the ſeveral governments of which they have been the ſubjects or tributaries, have produced very little alteration in the character they derive from climate or from habit. BOOK III.

The Arabs ſettled near the Indian and the Red Sea, and thoſe who inhabit Arabia Felix, were formerly a mild people, fond of liberty, and content with a ſtate of independence, without dreaming of conqueſt. They were too much prejudiced in favour of the beauty of their ſky, and of the ſoil that ſupplied their wants almoſt without culture, to be tempted to extend their dominion over different countries lying in another climate. Mohammed changed their ideas: but they retain no traces of the impreſſions he communicated to them. They paſs their time in ſmoking, taking coffee, opium, and ſherbet; or in burning exquiſite perfumes, the ſmoke of which they receive in their clothes, which are ſlightly ſprinkled with roſe-water. Theſe gratifications are often preceded or followed by ſinging gallant or amorous verſes.

Their compoſitions, both in point of expreſſion and ſentiment, have a degree of grace, ſoftneſs, and refinement, far beyond any thing we find amongſt any other people, ancient or modern. The language they ſpeak in this world to their miſtreſſes, ſeems as if it were the ſame as that which they will ſpeak to their houris in the other. It is a kind of muſic ſo moving and ſo fine; a murmur ſo ſoft, compariſons ſo agreeable and blooming, that one would almoſt ſay, their poetry was perfumed as their climate. The imitations of nature in the Arabian poems, are of the ſame kind as the expreſſions of honour among our ancient knights. The latter is the quinteſſence of virtue, the former of voluptuouſneſs. They are deſcribed as exhauſted by the ardour of their paſſion and of the climate, and having ſcarce the power to breathe. They give themſelves up, without reſerve, to this delicious languor, which, perhaps, they would not experience under any other ſky.

BOOK III.

General trade with Arabia, and that of the Engliſh in particular.

Before the Portugueſe had intercepted the navigation of the Red Sea, the Arabs had more activity. They were the factors of all the trade that paſſed through this channel. Aden, which is ſituated at the moſt ſouthern extremity of Arabia upon the Indian ocean, was the ſtaple of this trade. The ſituation of its harbour, which opened an eaſy communication with Egypt, Ethiopia, India, and Perſia, had rendered it, for many ages, one of the moſt flouriſhing factories in Aſia. Fifteen years after it had repulſed the great Albuquerque, who attempted to demoliſh it in 1513, it ſubmitted to the Turks, who did not long remain maſters of it. The king of Yemen, who poſſeſſed the only diſtrict in Arabia that merits the title of Happy, drove them from thence, and removed the trade to Mocha, a place in his dominions, which till then was only a village.

This trade was at firſt inconſiderable; conſiſting principally in myrrh, incenſe, aloes, balm of Mecca, ſome aromatics and medicinal drugs. Theſe articles, the exportation of which is continually retarded by exorbitant impoſts, and does not exceed at preſent ſeven or eight hundred thouſand livres [on an average 30,000l.], were at that time more in repute than they have been ſince; but muſt have been always of little conſequence. Soon after a great change enſued from the introduction of coffee.

The coffee tree is originally a native of Upper Ethiopia, where it has been known time immemorial, and is ſtill cultivated with ſucceſs. M. Lagrenée de Mezieres, one of the moſt intelligent agents that France ever had in the India ſervice, had ſome of the fruit in his poſſeſſion, and has often made uſe of it. He found it to be larger, rather longer, not ſo green, and almoſt as fragrant as that which was firſt gathered in Arabia towards the cloſe of the fifteenth century.

It is commonly believed, that a Mollach, named Chadely, was the firſt among the Arabs who made uſe of coffee, to relieve himſelf from a continual drowſineſs which hindered him from attending punc-

tually to his nocturnal devotions. His derviſes did the ſame; and their example was followed by the lawyers. It was ſoon found out, that this liquor purified the blood by a gentle agitation, diſſipated the crudities of the ſtomach, and raiſed the ſpirits; and it was adopted even by thoſe who had no occaſion to keep themſelves awake. It paſſed from the borders of the Red Sea to Medina and Mecca, and was introduced by the pilgrims into all the Mohammedan countries.

In theſe countries, where there is leſs freedom of manners than in ours, where the jealouſy of the men, and the cloſe confinement of the women, make ſociety leſs lively, it was thought proper to encourage public coffee-houſes. Thoſe in Perſia ſoon became infamous, where young Georgian women, dreſſed like courtezans, acted obſcene plays, and proſtituted themſelves for hire. When theſe offenſive irregularities were ſuppreſſed by order of the court, theſe houſes became places of decent reſort for the indolent, and of relaxation for men of buſineſs. The politicians entertained themſelves with news, the poets recited their verſes, and the Mollachs delivered their ſermons there, which were uſually rewarded with ſome charitable donations.

Affairs were not in the ſame peaceable ſtate at Conſtantinople. The coffee-houſes were no ſooner opened than they were frequented to exceſs. People ſpent their whole time in them. The grand Mufti, exaſperated to ſee the moſques abandoned, pronounced that the infuſion of this plant was included in that law of Mohammed, which forbade the uſe of ſtrong liquors. Government, which frequently aids the ſuperſtition of which it is ſometimes the dupe, gave immediate orders that the houſes which had given ſuch offence to the prieſts, ſhould be ſhut up; and enjoined the officers of police to put a ſtop to the uſe of this liquor in private families. The ſtrong inclination they had for it, ſtill prevailed over all theſe ſevere regulations. Coffee continued to be drunk, and even the places where it was to be had, ſoon grew more numerous than ever.

BOOK III.

Upon this occaſion I ſhould be much inclined to ſay to ſovereigns: if you are deſirous that your laws ſhould be obſerved, take care that they never ſhould be made in oppoſition to nature. I ſhould ſay to prieſts: let not your morality proſcribe innocent pleaſures. You may both of you threaten and thunder as much as you will; you may ſhow us your dungeons open, or hell under our feet: but you will never ſtifle in me the deſire of being happy. I will be happy, is the firſt article of a code, anterior to every ſyſtem of legiſlation or morality.

In the middle of the laſt century, Kuproli, the Grand Vizier, went in diſguiſe to the principal coffee-houſes in Conſtantinople. He there found a number of malcontents, who, thinking the affairs of government were in reality the concern of every private perſon, ſpoke of them with warmth, and arraigned with great boldneſs the conduct of the generals and miniſters. He then viſited the taverns, where wine was ſold. They were full of plain people, chiefly ſoldiers, who, accuſtomed to conſider the intereſts of the ſtate as thoſe of the prince, for whom they entertained a ſilent veneration, ſang lively ſongs, talked of their amours and warlike exploits. Theſe laſt ſocieties, which are attended with no inconveniences, he thought ought to be tolerated: but the firſt he conſidered as dangerous under an abſolute government. He had not ſufficiently conſidered this matter, to convince himſelf, that they were not more calculated to raiſe apprehenſions than the others. Even in a deſpotic ſtate, the people who are oppreſſed muſt be left at liberty to complain, for it is a relief to them. That ſort of diſcontent which evaporates itſelf is not the one to be feared. Rebellions ariſe from that ſpirit of diſſatisfaction, which, being concealed, is worked up by internal fermentation, and breaks out in the moſt ſpeedy and terrible effects. Woe to thoſe ſovereigns, whoſe oppreſſions are continually increaſing, till the murmurs of the people ceaſe.

However this may be, the regulation which was

confined to the capital of the empire, has not diſcouraged the uſe of coffee, and has, perhaps, increaſed the conſumpſion of it. It is publicly offered to ſale in all the ſtreets and markets ready made, and is drunk in every family at leaſt twice a-day. In ſome, it is always ready, it being the cuſtom to offer it to all viſitors, and reckoned equally unpolite not to offer it, or to refuſe it. BOOK III.

At the ſame time that coffee-houſes were ſhut in Conſtantinople, they were opened in London. This novelty was introduced there in 1652 by a merchant of the name of Edward, on his return from the Levant. The Engliſh grew fond of it; and it has ſince been introduced among all the nations of Europe; but the cuſtom is purſued with more moderation than in thoſe climates where religion prohibits the uſe of wine.

The tree that produces the coffee grows in the territory of Betelfagui, a town belonging to Yemen, ſituated upon a dry ſand at the diſtance of ten leagues from the Red Sea. It is cultivated in a diſtrict fifty leagues long, and fifteen or twenty broad: the fruit is not every where in equal perfection. That which grows upon the higher grounds, particularly at Ouden, is ſmaller, greener, weighs heavier, and is generally preferred.

It is computed that Arabia contains twelve millions of inhabitants, among the greateſt part of whom coffee is a highly favourite liquor. None but the rich citizens have the pleaſure of taſting the berry itſelf. The common people are obliged to content themſelves with the ſhell and the huſk of this valuable production. Theſe remains, ſo much deſpiſed, make a liquor of a pretty clear colour, which has the taſte of coffee without its bitterneſs and ſtrength. Theſe articles may be had at a low price at Betelfagui, which is the general market for them. Here likewiſe is ſold all the coffee which comes out of the country by land. The reſt is carried to Mocha, which is thirty-five leagues diſtant, or to the nearer ports of Lohia or Hodeida, from

BOOK III.

whence it is tranſported in ſmall veſſels to Jodda. The Egyptians fetch it from the laſt mentioned place, and all other nations from the former.

The quantity of coffee exported may be eſtimated from twelve to thirteen millions weight. The European Companies take off a million and a half; the Perſians three millions and a half; the fleet from Suez ſix millions and a half; Indoſtan, the Maldives, and the Arabian colonies on the coaſt of Africa, fifty thouſand; and the land caravans a million.

As the coffee which is bought up by the caravans and the Europeans is the beſt that can be procured, it coſts from ſixteen to ſeventeen ſols [about 8½d.] a pound. The Perſians, who content themſelves with that of an inferior quality, pay no more than twelve or thirteen ſols [about 6½d.] a pound. The Egyptians purchaſe it at the rate of fifteen or ſixteen [about 8d.]; their cargoes being compoſed partly of good, and partly of bad coffee. If we eſtimate coffee at fourteen ſols [about 7d.] a pound, which is the mean price, the profits accruing to Arabia from its annual exportation, will amount to eight or nine millions of livres [from upwards of 300,000l. to 375,000l.]. This money does not go into their coffers; but it enables them to purchaſe the commodities brought from the foreign markets to their ports of Jodda and Mocha.

Mocha receives from Abyſſinia, ſheep, elephants teeth, muſk, and ſlaves. It is ſupplied from the eaſtern coaſt of Africa with gold, ſlaves, amber, and ivory; from the Perſian Gulf, with dates, tobacco, and corn; from Surat, with a vaſt quantity of coarſe, and a few fine linens; from Bombay and Pondicherry, with iron, lead, copper, which are carried thither from Europe; from Malabar, with rice, ginger, pepper, Indian ſaffron, with caire, timber, and cardamom; from the Maldives, with gum benzoin, aloes-wood, and pepper, which theſe iſlands take in exchange; from Coromandel, with four or five hundred bales of cottons, chiefly blue. The greateſt part of theſe commodities, which may fetch ſix millions [250,000l.], are conſumed in

the interior part of the country. The reſt, particularly the cottons, are diſpoſed of in Abyſſinia, Socotora, and the eaſtern coaſt of Africa.

None of the branches of buſineſs which are managed at Mocha, as well as throughout all the country of Yemen, or even at Sanaa, the capital, are in the hands of the natives. The extortions with which they are perpetually threatened by the government, deter them from interfering in them. All the warehouſes are occupied by the Banians of Surat or Guzarat, who make a point of returning to their own country as ſoon as they have made their fortunes. They then reſign their ſettlements to merchants of their own nation, who retire in their turn, and are ſucceeded by others.

There is no country where the price of every thing is not known, except that of man. The moſt civilized nations have not yet acquired that knowledge. Witneſs that multitude of capital puniſhments inflicted in all parts for offences, even of a trivial kind. It is not probable, that thoſe nations which condemn to death a young woman of eighteen years of age, who might be the mother of five or ſix children, or a healthy and vigorous young man of thirty, for having ſtolen a little piece of ſilver, ſhould have ſufficiently meditated upon thoſe tables of the probabilities of human life which they have ſo learnedly calculated; ſince they ſeem to be ignorant how many individuals are ſacrificed by nature, before the life of one is prolonged to that period. Thus, without being conſcious of it, we repair a little injury done to ſociety, by a greater. By the ſeverity of the puniſhment, we drive the culprit on from theft to aſſaſſination. What! is the hand, then, that has burſt open the lock of your coffers, or that has even plunged a poniard into the breaſt of a citizen, fit for nothing but to be cut off? Becauſe a diſhoneſt or an indigent debtor cannot diſcharge his debts, is he to be rendered totally uſeleſs to ſociety, and reduced to the impoſſibility of being ever able to pay you, by being confined in a priſon?

BOOK III. Would it not be better for the public intereſt, and for yours, that he ſhould make ſome uſe of his induſtry and his talents, provided you be impowered by the action you have legally brought againſt him, to follow him every where, and to ſeize ſuch a portion of his profit as ſhall be adjudged to you by ſome wiſe regulation? But he will quit the country! Of what conſequence is it to you, whether he be in England, or in priſon? Will you not be equally a loſer of your money? If there were mutual compacts ſettled between the nations, the delinquent would not find an aſylum any where. If you enlarge your views a little, you will conceive, that the debtor who eſcapes from you by flight, cannot poſſibly make his fortune in a foreign country, without paying a part of his debts, from the neceſſaries he is obliged to ſupply himſelf with, and from the reciprocal exchanges ſubſiſting between nations. It is with the wines of France, that he will intoxicate himſelf at London; or with the ſilks of Lyons, that his wife will be clothed at Cadiz or Liſbon. But theſe ſpeculations are too abſtract and patriotic for a cruel creditor, who, tormented with the ſpirit of avarice and reſentment, would rather keep his unfortunate debtor in chains, lying upon ſtraw, and feed him there with bread and water, than reſtore him to his liberty. But theſe views ought not to have eſcaped the notice of governments and of legiſlators; and it is they who are to be cenſured for all the barbarous abſurdities ſtill ſubſiſting upon this matter in our nations that pretend to be civilized.

The European Companies, who enjoy the excluſive privilege of trading beyond the Cape of Good Hope, formerly maintained agents at Mocha. Notwithſtanding it was ſtipulated by a ſolemn capitulation, that the impoſts demanded ſhould be rated at two and a quarter per cent., they were ſubject to frequent extortions; the governor of the place inſiſting on their making him preſents, which enabled him to purchaſe the favour of the courtiers, or even of the prince himſelf. However, the profits they obtained by the ſale of Eu-

ropean goods, particularly cloths, made them ſubmit to theſe repeated humiliations. When theſe ſeveral articles were furniſhed by Grand Cairo, it was then impoſſible to withſtand the competition, and the fixed ſettlements were therefore given up.

The trade was carried on by ſhips, that ſailed from Europe with iron, lead, copper, and ſilver, ſufficient to pay for the coffee they intended to buy. The ſupercargoes, who had the care of theſe tranſactions, ſettled the accounts every time they returned. Theſe voyages, at firſt rather numerous and advantageous, have been ſucceſſively laid aſide. The plantations of coffee, made by the European nations in their colonies, have equally leſſened the conſumption and the price of that which comes from Arabia. In proceſs of time, theſe voyages did not yield a ſufficient profit to anſwer the high charges of undertaking them on purpoſe. The companies of England and France then reſolved, one of them to ſend ſhips from Bombay, and the other from Pondicherry to Mocha, with the merchandiſe of Europe and India. They even frequently had recourſe to a method that was leſs expenſive. The Engliſh and French who traffic from one part of India to another, viſit the Red Sea every year. Though they diſpoſe of their merchandiſe there to good advantage, they can never take in cargoes from thence for their return. They carry, for a moderate freight, the coffee belonging to the companies who lade the veſſels with it, which they diſpatch from Malabar and Coromandel to Europe. The Dutch Company, who prohibit their ſervants from fitting out ſhips, and who ſend no veſſels themſelves to the Gulf of Arabia, are deprived of the ſhare they might take in this branch of commerce. They have alſo given up a much more lucrative branch, that of Jodda.

Jodda is a port ſituated near the middle of the Gulf of Arabia, twenty leagues from Mecca. It is a ſafe harbour, but the acceſs to it is difficult. The purpoſes of trade have brought nine or ten thouſand inhabitants there, who moſt of them dwell in huts, and who are

BOOK III. all condemned to breathe an infected air, and to drink brackiſh water. The government is of a mixed kind: the Xeriff of Mecca, and the Grand Signior, who keeps a feeble and uſeleſs garriſon there, ſhare the authority and the revenue of the cuſtoms between them. Theſe impoſts are levied upon the Europeans at the rate of eight per cent. and upon other nations at thirteen. They are always paid in merchandiſe, which the managers oblige the merchants of the country to buy at a very dear rate. The Turks, who have been driven from Aden, Mocha, and every part of the Yemen, would long ago have been expelled from Jodda, if there had not been reaſon to apprehend that they might revenge themſelves in ſuch a manner as to put an end to their pilgrimages and commerce.

Surat ſends three ſhips every year to Jodda, which are laden with linens of all colours, ſhawls, cotton and ſilk ſtuffs, frequently ornamented with gold and ſilver flowers. The ſale of theſe goods produces nine or ten millions of livres [from 375,000l. to 416,666l. 13s. 4d.]. Bengal diſpatches two, and more frequently three ſhips for the ſame deſtination; and their cargoes, which belong to the Engliſh, may be one-third leſs in value than thoſe of Surat. They conſiſt of rice, ginger, ſaffron, ſugar, a few ſilks, and a conſiderable quantity of linens, which are for the moſt part ordinary. Theſe veſſels, which may enter the Red Sea from the beginning of December till the end of May, find the fleet of Suez at Jodda.

This city, which is ſuppoſed to be built upon the ruins of the ancient Arſinoe, is ſituated at the extremity of the Red Sea, and at the diſtance only of two or three days journey from Grand Cairo. Its inhabitants are partly Egyptians, and partly Arabs. They are ſo little fond of living in the place, which is unwholeſome, and unprovided with drinkable water, that thoſe among them who enjoy an eaſy fortune, or can meet with employment any where elſe, are never there but at the times of the ſetting out and return of the ſhips, both which events are regulated by periodical

and invariable winds. Twenty veſſels, reſembling in ſhape thoſe of the Dutch, but ill built, badly fitted out, and improperly commanded, are diſpatched every year to Jodda. Their cargo conſiſts chiefly of proviſions, but with this difference, that the five belonging to the Grand Signior deliver theirs gratuitouſly at Medina and Mecca, while the others commonly ſell their cargoes at a very advantageous price. They carry alſo Venetian glaſs, coral, and yellow amber, of which the Indians make necklaces and bracelets.

In exchange for their proviſions, their merchandiſe, and eſpecially their gold, they receive ſix or ſeven millions weight of coffee; and in linens, ſtuffs, and ſpices, to the value of ſeven or eight millions of livres [from 291,666l. 13s. 4d. to 333,333l. 6s. 8d.]. Such is the ignorance and lazineſs of theſe navigators, that the whole of theſe rich articles never reaches the place of their deſtination. A conſiderable part of them is habitually ſwallowed up by the waves, notwithſtanding the care that is taken always to caſt anchor at the beginning of the night.

The trade of the Red Sea would become more extenſive, and leſs expoſed to riſks, if a revolution which it has lately experienced ſhould be attended with the conſequences that ſeem to be expected from it.

By a treaty concluded on the 7th May 1775, between the firſt of the Beys and Mr. Haſtings the Britiſh governor of Bengal, the Engliſh ſettled in India are allowed to introduce and circulate, in the interior part of Egypt, all the merchandiſe they chooſe, on paying ſix and a half per cent. for thoſe goods that come from the Ganges and Madras, and eight per cent. for thoſe which have been laden at Bombay and Surat. This convention has already been carried into execution, and the ſucceſs has anſwered beyond expectation. If the Ottoman court and the Arabs do not interrupt this new communication; if the port of Suez, now almoſt choked up with the ſands, were repaired; if the ſeditions which are inceſſantly diſturbing the banks of the Nile could at length be put a

BOOK III.

ſtop to; we might, perhaps, ſee the intercourſe between Europe and Aſia carried on wholly, or in part, through the ancient channel.

The merchandiſe brought from Surat and Bengal, which the Egyptian fleet does not take off, is partly conſumed in the country, and bought in great quantities by the caravans, which go every year to Mecca.

The Arabs had ever entertained an affection for this city. They ſuppoſed it to have been the reſidence of Abraham; and they flocked from all parts to a temple, of which they believed he was the founder. Mohammed, who was a man of too much underſtanding to attempt to aboliſh a devotion ſo generally eſtabliſhed, contented himſelf with rectifying the object of it. He baniſhed the idols from this revered place, and dedicated it to the unity of God. Mohammed was not the meſſenger of heaven; but he was an acute politician, and a great conqueror. To promote the concourſe of ſtrangers to a city which he intended to make the capital of his empire, he commanded that all who embraced his law ſhould once in their lives undertake a pilgrimage thither, on pain of dying reprobates. This precept was accompanied with another, which makes it evident that he was not guided by ſuperſtition alone. He ordered that every pilgrim, of whatever country he was, ſhould purchaſe five pieces of cotton, and get them conſecrated, and made into handkerchiefs for himſelf, and for all the perſons belonging to his family who might be prevented by reaſonable impediments from undertaking this holy expedition.

This policy might naturally be expected to make Arabia the centre of a prodigious trade, when the number of pilgrims ſhould amount to ſeveral millions. This zeal is ſo much abated, eſpecially on the coaſt of Africa, in Indoſtan and Perſia, in proportion to the reſpective diſtances of thoſe places from Mecca, that the number is reduced to a hundred and fifty thouſand, the majority of whom are Turks. They carry [illegible] with them ſeven hundred and fifty thouſand pieces of

linen, each ten ells in length, excluſive of thoſe which many of them buy for ſale. They are encouraged in theſe mercantile ſchemes by the advantages they have in croſſing the deſerts, and in not being expoſed to thoſe oppreſſive tolls which are ſo deſtructive in the ſea-ports of Suez and Baſſora. The money received from theſe pilgrims and from the fleet, as well as that which the Arabs get from the ſale of their coffee, is expended in India. The veſſels from Surat, Malabar, Coromandel, and Bengal, annually carry away to the amount of fourteen or fifteen millions of livres [from 583,333l. 6s. 8d. to 625,000l.], and about the eighth part of this ſum in merchandiſe. When theſe riches are divided among the trading nations of Europe, the Engliſh contrive to appropriate to themſelves the moſt conſiderable ſhare of them. They have acquired the ſame ſuperiority in Perſia.

Revolutions which trade has experienced in the Perſian Gulf.

The Engliſh nation had ſcarce been admitted into the empire of the Sophis, when, as we have obſerved, the Dutch reſorted there in great numbers. The trade of theſe republicans was at firſt eſtabliſhed on a very diſadvantageous footing; but being, by the civil wars of England, ſoon delivered from a rival, whoſe various privileges were not to be overbalanced even by the greateſt economy, they were in a ſhort time without competitors, and conſequently acquired an authority to ſet what price they thought proper on the commodities they bought or ſold. The connections of the Perſians with the Dutch were formed on this deſtructive ſyſtem; when the return of the Engliſh, who were ſoon after followed by the French, gave a new turn to affairs, and put them upon a more equitable footing.

At the time when the three nations exerted their utmoſt efforts to gain the ſuperiority, and theſe efforts tuned to the advantage of the empire, they were haraſſed with a thouſand oppreſſions, ſome more unjuſt and odious than others. The throne was continually filled with tyrannical or weak princes, whoſe cruelty and injuſtice weakened the correſpondence of their

BOOK III. ſubjects with other nations. One of theſe tyrants was ſo ſavage, that a great man of his court uſed to ſay, *That whenever he came out of the king's cloſet, he clapped both his hands to his head, to feel whether it were ſtill upon his ſhoulders.* When the ſucceſſor of this tyrant was told that the fineſt provinces in the empire were invaded by the Turks, he anſwered coolly, *That their progreſs gave him very little diſturbance, provided they would leave him the city of Iſpahan.* The ſon of the latter was ſo meanly enſlaved to the moſt frivolous obſervances of his religion, that he was ſtyled, by way of deriſion, *Huſſein the monk, or prieſt:* a character leſs odious, perhaps, in a prince, but much more dangerous to his people, than that of impiety, or defiance of the gods. Under theſe deſpicable ſovereigns mercantile affairs declined every day more and more. The Afghans deſtroyed them entirely.

Theſe are a people of Candahar, a mountainous country, lying north of India. They have ſometimes been ſubject to the Moguls, ſometimes to the Perſians, but are more frequently independent. Thoſe that do not reſide in the capital live in tents, after the manner of the Tartars. They are of low ſtature, and ill made; but are ſtrong, robuſt, ſkilled in the uſe of the bow, and in horſemanſhip, and inured to fatigue. Their manner of fighting is ſingular; a choſen band of ſoldiers, divided into two parties, fall upon the enemy without any order, only endeavouring to open the way for the army that follows them. As ſoon as the battle is begun, they fall back upon the flanks and towards the rear-guard, where their buſineſs is to prevent any perſon from giving way. If any ſoldier attempts to fly, they attack him with their ſabres, and compel him to return to his poſt.

About the beginning of this century, this fierce people left their mountains, invaded Perſia, caried devaſtation every where, and at length ſubd[illegible] after a bloody conteſt of twenty years. Fa[illegible] ſtill perpetuates, and perhaps even expiates, [illegible]mory of the horrid outrages which they c[illegible]m[illegible]

the courſe of their conqueſt. For ſuch is the nature of religious enthuſiaſm, that it ſanctifies the crime it inſpires, and that this crime expiates the others we have been guilty of. The fanatic ſays to God, It is true, O Lord! that I have adminiſtered poiſon, that I have murdered, and that I have robbed; but thou wilt pardon me, for with my own hands I have exterminated fifty of thine enemies. Inflamed with zeal for the ſuperſtitions of the Turks, and with implacable hatred againſt the ſect of Ali, the Afghans maſſacre thouſands of Perſians in cold blood. In the mean time, the provinces they had not entered were ravaged by the Ruſſians, Turks, and Tartars. Thamas Kouli Khan drove theſe robbers out of this country, but ſhowed himſelf ſtill more barbarous than they were. His violent death gave riſe to new calamities. Anarchy aggravates the cruelties of tyranny. One of the fineſt empires in the world is become an extenſive ſcene of deſolation, and a laſting and ſhameful monument of that deſtructive inſtinct that animates uncivilized people, while at the ſame time it is an inevitable conſequence of the defects of a deſpotic government.

During this general confuſion, Bender-Abaſſi, and the other bad ports of Perſia, were neglected. The little ſhare of trade that ſtill ſubſiſted was almoſt all conveyed to Baſſora.

This is a large city, built by the Arabs in the height of their proſperity, fifteen leagues below the place where the Tigris and Euphrates meet, and at the ſame diſtance from the Perſian Gulf, into which theſe rivers empty themſelves. Its inhabitants are computed at Arm thouſand; conſiſting of Arabs, fifteen hundred nati[illegible]enians, and a ſmall number of families of different ritorns, whom the hope of gain has attracted. Its terculay abounds in rice, fruits, pulſe, cotton, and parti-[illegible]rly in dates.

[illegible]he port of Baſſora, as thoſe who firſt eſtabliſhed it [illegible]eſaw, became a famous mart. The merchandiſe of [illegible]rope was brought there by the Euphrates, and that of India by ſea. The tyranny of the Portugueſe in-

BOOK III.

tercepted this communication. It would have been opened again when their power declined, had not this unhappy country continually been the ſcene of the diſputes between the Arabs, the Perſians, and the Turks. Theſe laſt, become peaceful poſſeſſors of Baſſora, have availed themſelves of the misfortunes of their neighbours, to bring trade back to this city; the harbour of which has recovered its ſplendour and importance.

This change has not been effected without difficulty. At firſt, the people of the country would not permit the traders to come out of the river. They foreſaw, that if theſe foreigners were permitted to ſettle in the city, they would not be ſo much under their direction, and might lay up in their magazines ſuch of their commodities as they could not ſell during one monſoon, with a view of diſpoſing of them with greater advantage at another time. To this maxim, which was the reſult of an ill-judged avarice, were added others ariſing from ſuperſtitious notions. It was deemed a violation of the reſpect due to religion to permit infidels to inhabit a city conſecrated by the blood of ſo many martyrs and ſaints of the Mohammedan perſuaſion; a prejudice that ſeemed to have ſome weight with the government; but theſe ſcruples were ſilenced. Pecuniary conſiderations were offered by the European nations, and they were allowed to eſtabliſh factories, and even to diſplay their reſpective flags upon them.

Preſent ſtate of trade in the Perſian Gulf, and of that of the Engliſh in particular.

Revolutions are ſo frequent in A[illegible], that trade can not poſſibly be carried on in the ſ[illegible]me continued t[illegible] as it is in Europe. Theſe events, joined to the l[illegible] communication between the different ſtates, either by land or by ſea, muſt naturally occaſion great variat[illegible] in the quantity and value of commodities. Baſ[illegible] on account of its great diſtance from the centre of trade, is more expoſed to this inconvenience than [illegible] other place. However, upon an average, we need [illegible] be under any apprehenſion of departing much fr[illegible] the ſtricteſt truth, when we venture to eſtimate the

merchandiſe annually brought there by way of the Gulf at twelve millions [500,000l.]. Of this the Engliſh furniſh four millions [166,666l. 13s. 4d.], the Dutch two [83,333l. 6s. 8d.], the French, the Moors, the Indians, the Armenians and Arabs, furniſh the remainder.

The cargoes of theſe nations conſiſt of rice, ſugar, plain, ſtriped, and flowered muſlins, from Bengal; ſpices, from Ceylon and the Molucca iſlands; coarſe, white, and blue cottons, from Coromandel; cardamom, pepper, ſanders-wood, from Malabar; gold and ſilver ſtuffs, turbans, ſhawls, indigo, from Surat; pearls from Baharen, and coffee from Mocha; iron, lead, and woollen cloth, from Europe. Other articles, of leſs conſequence, are imported from different places. Some of theſe commodities are ſhipped on board ſmall Arabian veſſels; but the greater part is brought by European ſhips, which have the advantage of a conſiderable freight.

This merchandiſe is ſold for ready money; and paſſes through the hands of the Greeks, Jews, and Armenians. The Banians are employed in changing the coin current at Baſſora, for that which is of higher value in India.

The different commodities collected at Baſſora are diſtributed into three channels. One half of them goes to Perſia, where they are conveyed by the caravans; there being no navigable river in the whole empire. The chief conſumption is in the northern provinces, which have not been ſo much ravaged as thoſe in the ſouth. Both of them formerly made their payments in precious ſtones, which were become common, by the plunder of India. They had afterwards recourſe to copper utenſils, which had been exceedingly multiplied from the great abundance of copper mines. At laſt, they gave gold and ſilver in exchange, which had been concealed during a long ſcene of tyranny, and are continually digged out of the bowels of the earth. If time be not allowed for

BOOK III.

the trees that produce gum, and have been cut to puſh out freſh ſhoots; if no attention be paid to multiply the breed of goats which afford ſuch fine wool; and if the ſilks, which are hardly ſufficient to ſupply the few manufactures remaining in Perſia, continue to be ſcarce; in a word, if this empire does not riſe again from its aſhes, the mines will be exhauſted, and this ſource of commerce muſt be given up.

The ſecond channel is a more ſure one, by the way of Bagdad, Aleppo, and other intermediate towns, whoſe merchants come to buy their goods at Baſſora. Coffee, linen, ſpices, and other merchandiſe that paſs this way, are taken in exchange for gold, French woollen cloths, galls, and orpiment, which is an ingredient in colours, and much uſed by the eaſtern people to extirpate their hair.

Another much leſs conſiderable channel is that of Arabia Deſerta. The Arabs, bordering upon Baſſora, repair annually to Aleppo in the ſpring, to ſell camels. It is uſual to give them credit for muſlins, which they buy very cheap, to the amount of ſix hundred thouſand livres [25,000l.]. They return in the autumn, bringing woollen cloths, coral, hardware, and ſome glaſs and mirrors from Venice. The Arabian caravans are never moleſted in their journey; nor are foreigners in any danger, if they take care to carry along with them a perſon belonging to each of the tribes they may happen to meet with. This road through the deſert would be univerſally preferred to that of Bagdad, on account of ſafety, expedition, and the advantages of ſale, if the Pacha of the province, who has eſtabliſhed tolls in different parts of his territory, did not uſe every poſſible precaution to hinder this communication. It is only by eluding the vigilance of his deputies, that one can prevail upon the Arabs to carry with them ſome goods, which will not take up much room.

Beſide theſe exportations, there is rather a conſiderable conſumption, eſpecially of coffee at Baſſora, and

the territories belonging to it. Theſe articles are paid for in dates, pearls, roſe-water, dried fruits, and grain, when that is allowed to be diſpoſed of to foreigners.

This trade would be more extenſive, if it were freed from the ſhackles that confine it. But the activity that might be expected from the natives of the country is continually damped by the oppreſſions they labour under, eſpecially at a diſtance from the centre of the empire. The foreigners are no leſs oppreſſed by governors, who derive from their extortions the advantage of maintaining themſelves in their office, and frequently of ſecuring their lives. Were it poſſible, in ſome meaſure, to aſſuage this thirſt of gold, it would ſoon be renewed by the rivalſhip of the European nations, whoſe ſole aim is to ſupplant one another, and who, to ſucceed in this deſign, ſcruple not to employ the moſt execrable expedients. A ſtriking inſtance of this odious ſpirit of jealouſy happened in 1748.

Baron Knyphauſen managed the Dutch factory at Baſſora with extraordinary ſucceſs. The Engliſh found themſelves in imminent danger of loſing the ſuperiority they had acquired at this place, as well as in moſt of the ſea-ports in India. The dread of an event which muſt wound at the ſame time their intereſts and their vanity, betrayed them into injuſtice. They excited the Turkiſh government to ſuppreſs a branch of trade that was uſeful to it, and procured an order for the confiſcation of the merchandiſe and poſſeſſions of their rivals.

The Dutch factor, who, under the character of a merchant, concealed the ſtateſman, inſtantly took a reſolution worthy of a man of genius. He retired with his dependents, and the broken remains of his fortune, to Karek, a ſmall iſland, at the diſtance of fifty leagues from the mouth of the river; where he fortified himſelf in ſuch a manner, that, by intercepting the Arabian and Indian veſſels bound for the city, he compelled the government to indemnify him for the loſſes he had ſuſtained by its behaviour. The fame of his integrity and abilities drew to his iſland the priva-

BOOK III.

teers of the neighbouring ports, the merchants, even of Baſſora, and the Europeans who traded there. The proſperity of this new colony was daily increaſing, when it was forſaken by its founder. The ſucceſſor of this able man did not diſplay the ſame talents. Towards the end of the year 1765, he ſuffered himſelf to be diſpoſſeſſed of his iſland by the Arabian corſair Mirmahana. The Company loſt an important poſt, and more than two millions [83,333l. 6s. 8d], in artillery, proviſions, and merchandiſe.

By this event, Baſſora was freed from a rivalſhip that was prejudicial to its intereſts; but an unforeſeen and much more formidable one has ſucceeded in its room, which is that of Maſcate. The Perſian Gulf is bordered on the weſt by the eaſtern coaſt of Arabia. The inhabitants of this region have nothing for ſubſiſtence, but a few dates, and the produce of a plentiful fiſhery, obtained with eaſe. Even the ſmall quantity of cattle that can be raiſed there, is fed only upon fiſh. Every little diſtrict has a Sheik of its own, who is obliged to provide for the wants of his family, by his labour or his induſtry. On the firſt ſignal of the leaſt danger, theſe people fly for refuge into the neighbouring iſlands, from whence they do not return to the continent till the enemy is withdrawn. There is no place in the country that was ever worth preſerving, except Maſcate. The great Albuquerque made himſelf maſter of this city in 1507, and ruined its trade, which he intended to transfer entirely to Ormus. When the Portugueſe had loſt this ſmall kingdom, they were deſirous of bringing the trade back to this place. Their endeavours proved ineffectual; and the navigators bent their courſe to Gombroon. They dreaded the inſolence of the old tyrants of India, and were unwilling to rely upon their fidelity. No veſſels entered the harbour, except thoſe brought in by the Portugueſe themſelves. It ceaſed to be frequented by the ſhips of every nation, after theſe imperious maſters were driven from it in 1648. Their pride prevailing over their views of intereſt, made them no

longer deſirous of going there: and they had ſtill a ſufficient degree of influence to prevent any ſhips from entering the harbour, or going out of it.

The decline of their power tempted the inhabitants of Maſcate to the ſame acts of piracy which they themſelves had ſo long been expoſed to. They made deſcents upon the coaſts of their ancient oppreſſors; and the ſucceſs they met with encouraged them to attack the ſmall Mooriſh and European veſſels that frequented the Perſian Gulf. But they were ſo ſeverely chaſtiſed for their plunders by ſeveral nations, and eſpecially by the Engliſh, that they were obliged to deſiſt. From that period, the city ſank into a ſtate of obſcurity, which was prolonged for a conſiderable time by inteſtine broils and foreign invaſions. At length, the government aſſuming a more regular form at Maſcate, and in the whole country under the juriſdiction of its Iman, its commerce began to revive about the year 1749.

The articles of conſumption in the country itſelf, are rice, blue linens, iron, lead, ſugar, and ſome ſpices; the returns for which are made in myrrh, incenſe, gum-arabic, and a ſmall quantity of ſilver. This trade, however, would not be conſiderable enough, to invite ſhips to this place, if Maſcate, which is ſituated pretty near the entrance of the Perſian Sea, were not an excellent mart for the innermoſt part of the Gulf. All trading nations begin to give it the preference to Baſſora, becauſe it makes their voyage ſhorter by three months: they are free from any kind of extortion; and impoſts are lowered to one and a half per cent. The merchandiſe, indeed, is afterwards to be carried to Baſſora, where it pays a tax of three per cent.; but the Arabs ſail with ſo little expence, and have ſo many methods of eluding the tolls, that they will always find their account in diſpoſing of their goods at Maſcate. Beſide this, the dates, which are produced at Baſſora in greater plenty and perfection than any other article, and are often ſpoiled on board large veſſels that ſail ſlowly, are conveyed with the

BOOK III.

utmoſt expedition in light barks to Malabar and the Red Sea. There is a particular reaſon which will always induce the Engliſh, who trade for themſelves, to frequent Maſcate. They are there exempted from the five per cent. which they are obliged to pay at Baſſora, as well as at all other places where their Company have made ſettlements.

The Company have never attempted to eſtabliſh themſelves on the iſland of Baharen; which we are at a loſs to account for. This iſland, which lies in the Perſian Gulf, has often changed its maſters. It fell, with Ormus, under the dominion of the Portugueſe, and was governed by the ſame laws. Theſe conquerors were afterwards deprived of it, and it has ſince undergone a variety of revolutions. Thamas Kouli Khan reſtored it to Perſia, to which it had belonged. This haughty uſurper at that time conceived the plan of forming a moſt immenſe empire. He wiſhed to extend it over two ſeas, ſome coaſts of which he already poſſeſſed: but finding that his ſubjects oppoſed his deſign inſtead of favouring it, he had recourſe to one of thoſe arbitrary acts which tyrants make no ſcruple of exerciſing, and tranſported his ſubjects in the Perſian Gulf to the Caſpian Sea, and thoſe in the Caſpian Sea to the Perſian Gulf. This double tranſmigration appeared to him calculated to break the connections which both theſe people had formed with his enemies, and of ſecuring their fidelity, if he could not engage their attachment. His death put a period to his vaſt deſigns; and the confuſion into which his empire was thrown, afforded a fair opportunity to an ambitious and enterpriſing Arab of taking poſſeſſion of Baharen, where he ſtill maintains his authority.

This iſland, famous for its pearl fiſhery, even at the time when pearls were found at Ormus, Karek, Keſhy, and other places in the Gulf, is now become of much greater conſequence, ſince the other banks have been exhauſted, while this has ſuffered no ſenſible diminution. The fiſhery begins in April, and ends in October. It is confined to a tract of four or five leagues.

The Arabs, who alone follow this employment, paſs their nights upon the iſland or the coaſt, unleſs they are prevented by the wind from going on ſhore. They formerly paid a toll, which was received by the galliots on that ſtation. Since the laſt alteration, none but the inhabitants of this iſland pay this acknowledgment to their ſheik, who is not in a condition to demand them from others.

The pearls taken at Baharen, though not ſo white as thoſe of Ceylon and Japan, are much larger than thoſe of the former place, and of a more regular ſhape than thoſe of the latter. They are of a yellowiſh caſt; but have this recommendation, that they preſerve their golden hue; whereas the whiter kind loſe much of their luſtre by keeping, particularly in hot countries. The ſhell of both theſe ſpecies, which is known by the name of mother of pearl, is uſed in Aſia for various purpoſes.

The annual revenue ariſing from the fiſhery in the latitude of Baharen, is computed at 3,600,000 livres [150,000l.]. The greateſt part of the pearls that are uneven, are carried to Conſtantinople, and other ports of Turkey; where the larger compoſe part of the ornaments of the head-dreſs, and the ſmaller are uſed in works of embroidery. The perfect pearls muſt be reſerved for Surat, from whence they are diſtributed throughout all Indoſtan. The women have ſo ſtrong a paſſion for luxury, and the ſale of this article is ſo much increaſed by ſuperſtition, that there is not the leaſt reaſon to apprehend any diminution either in the price or the demand. There are none of the Gentiles who do not make it a point of religion to bore at leaſt one pearl at the time of their marriage. Whatever may be the myſterious meaning of this cuſtom among a people whoſe morality and politics are couched in allegories, or where allegory becomes religion; this emblem of virgin modeſty has proved advantageous to the pearl trade. The pearls that have not newly been bored, make a part of dreſs; but cannot have a place in the marriage ceremony, where one new pearl

BOOK III.

is at leaſt indiſpenſable. They are accordingly always ſold five and twenty or thirty per cent. cheaper than thoſe which come from the Gulf, where they are taken. There are no pearls at Malabar; but it has riches of another kind.

Deſcription of the coaſt of Malabar. Sketch of the ſtates that compoſe it.

Malabar is, properly ſpeaking, a country ſituated between Cape Comorin and the river of Neticeram. But to make our narrative the better underſtood, by accommodating it to the notions generally received in Europe, we ſhall give this name to the whole track extending from the Indus to Cape Comorin, including the adjacent iſlands, and beginning with the Maldives.

The Maldives form a long chain of iſlands to the weſt of Cape Comorin, which is the neareſt part of the continent. They are divided into thirteen provinces, which are called Atollons. This diviſion is the work of nature, that has ſurrounded each atollon with a barrier of rocks, furniſhing a better defence than the ſtrongeſt fortification againſt the impetuoſity of the waves, or the attacks of an enemy. The natives reckon the number of theſe iſlands at twelve thouſand; the ſmalleſt of which are nothing more than banks of ſand that are overflowed at high tides, and the largeſt very ſmall in circumference. Of all the channels that ſeparate them, there are only four capable of receiving ſhips. The reſt are ſo ſhallow, that they have ſeldom more than three feet water. It is conjectured, with probability, that all theſe different iſlands were formerly one, and that the force of the waves and currents, or ſome great natural event, has divided them into ſeveral portions.

It is probable, that this Archipelago was originally peopled from Malabar. Afterwards, the Arabians went there, uſurped the ſovereignty, and eſtabliſhed their own religion. At length, the two nations were united into one; when the Portugueſe, ſoon after their arrival in India, reduced them to ſubjection. This tyranny was of ſhort continuance. The garriſon, which held them in ſlavery, was exterminated, and the Maldives recovered their independence. Since this period,

they have fallen under the yoke of an arbitrary prince, who keeps his court at Male, and has reſigned the whole authority to the prieſts. He is the ſole merchant in his dominions.

An adminiſtration of this ſtamp, and the barrenneſs of the country, which produces nothing but cocoa trees, prevents the trade from being conſiderable. The exports conſiſt only of cowries, fiſh, and kayar.

Kayar is the bark of the cocoa tree, of which cables are made, that ſerve for the Indian navigation. This is nowhere ſo good, and in ſuch plenty, as in the Maldives. A great quantity of it is carried, with ſome cowries, to Ceylon, where theſe commodities are exchanged for the areca nut.

The fiſh called in the country complemaſſe, is dried in the ſun. It is ſalted by dipping it ſeveral times in ſea-water, and cut into pieces of the thickneſs and length of a man's finger. Two cargoes of it are annually brought to Achen, which are purchaſed with gold and benzoin. The gold remains in the Maldives; and the benzoin is ſent to Mocha, where it procures in return about three hundred bales of coffee for the conſumption of theſe iſlands.

Cowries are white and ſhining ſhells. The inhabitants fiſh for them twice a month; three days before the new moon, and three days after. This employment belongs to the women, who wade to the middle in water to gather them upon the ſands. They are put up in parcels, each containing twelve thouſand. Thoſe that are not circulated in the country, or carried to Ceylon, are ſent to the banks of the Ganges. A great number of veſſels annually ſail from this river, laden with ſugar, rice, linen, and other leſs conſiderable articles for the uſe of the Maldives, and return with cargoes of cowries, valued at about ſeven or eight hundred thouſand livres [from 29,166l. 13s. 4d. to 33,333l. 6s. 8d.]. One part is circulated in Bengal where it ſerves as ſmall coin. The reſt is taken off by the Europeans, who uſe it with advantage in their

BOOK III.

trade with Africa. They buy it at ſix ſols [about 3d.] a pound, and ſell it from twelve to eighteen [near 8d. on an average.] in their ſeveral capitals: it is worth thirty five livres [1l. 9s. 2d.] in Guinea.

The kingdom of Travancor, which extends from Cape Comorin to the frontiers of Cochin, was not formerly in poſſeſſion of a greater ſhare of opulence than the Maldives. It is probable that it owed the preſervation of its independency to its poverty, when the Moguls made themſelves maſters of Madura. One of their monarchs, who aſcended the throne about the year 1730, and who reigned near forty years, added more dignity to his crown than it had ever had before. He was a man of exquiſite and deep ſenſe. He was giving audience to two ambaſſadors that had been ſent him by a neighbouring ſtate, one of whom began a long harangue, which the other was preparing to continue: *be not tedious*, ſaid the prince, with an auſtere brow, *life is ſhort*. His reign was ſullied only by one act of weakneſs; he was of the tribe of the Naïrs, and thought it a diſgrace to him that he did not belong to the ſuperior caſt. In the view of being incorporated into it, as much as it was poſſible, in the year 1752, he cauſed a golden calf to be caſt, which he entered into by the muzzle, and came out at the oppoſite part. Since that time, his edicts were all dated from the day of ſo glorious a regeneration; and, to the great ſcandal of all Indoſtan, he was acknowledged for a Brâmin by all thoſe of his ſubjects who enjoyed this important prerogative.

With the aſſiſtance of a Frenchman named Le Noye, this monarch had formed the beſt diſciplined army that had ever been ſeen in theſe countries. With theſe forces it is ſaid that he meditated the conqueſt of all the Malabar; and perhaps his ambition might have been crowned with ſucceſs, had it not been oppoſed by the European nations. Notwithſtanding theſe impediments, he ſucceeded in enlarging his dominions; and, what was infinitely more difficult, in rendering his

uſurpations uſeful to his ſubjects. In the midſt of the tumult of arms, agriculture was encouraged; and ſome coarſe manufactures of cotton were ſet on foot.

There are two European ſettlements in the kingdom of Travancor: that of the Danes at Kolechey has ſcarce any trade. It is very ſeldom, indeed, that the ſmalleſt purchaſe or ſale is ever made there by the people of that nation.*

The Engliſh factory of Anjengo is ſituated on a point of land at the mouth of a ſmall river, which, during the greateſt part of the year, is choked up with ſand. The town is well peopled, and full of manufactures. It was formerly defended by four ſmall baſtions without a ditch, and by a garriſon of one hundred and fifty men. This expence has been thought unneceſſary. A ſingle agent now takes care of all the buſineſs, with leſs parade and more advantage.

Territory of Anjengo, thou art nothing; but thou haſt given birth to Eliza. A day will come, when theſe ſtaples of commerce, founded by the Europeans on the coaſts of Aſia, will exiſt no more. Before a few centuries are elapſed, the graſs will cover them, or the Indians, avenged, will have built upon their ruins. But if my works be deſtined to have any duration, the name of Anjengo will not be obliterated from the memory of man. Thoſe who ſhall read my works, or thoſe whom the winds ſhall drive towards theſe ſhores, will ſay: there it is that Eliza Draper was born; and if there be a Briton among them, he will immediately add, with the ſpirit of conſcious pride, and there it was that ſhe was born of Engliſh parents.

Let me be permitted to indulge my grief, and to give a free courſe to my tears! Eliza was my friend. Reader, whoſoever thou art, forgive me this involuntary emotion. Let my mind dwell upon Eliza. If I have ſometimes moved thee to compaſſionate the calamities of the human race, let me now prevail upon thee to commiſerate my own misfortune. I was thy friend without knowing thee; be for a moment mine. Thy gentle pity ſhall be my reward.

BOOK III. Eliza ended her days in the land of her forefathers, at the age of three and thirty. A celeſtial ſoul was ſeparated from a heavenly body. Ye who viſit the ſpot on which her ſacred aſhes reſt, write upon the marble that covers them: in ſuch a year, in ſuch a month, on ſuch a day, at ſuch an hour, God withdrew his ſpirit, and Eliza died.

And thou, original writer, her admirer and her friend, it was Eliza who inſpired thy works, and dictated to thee the moſt affecting pages of them. Fortunate Sterne, thou art no more, and I am left behind. I wept over thee with Eliza; thou wouldſt weep over her with me; and had it been the will of Heaven, that you had both ſurvived me, your tears would have fallen together upon my grave.

The men were uſed to ſay, that no woman had ſo many graces as Eliza: the women ſaid ſo too. They all praiſed her candour; they all extolled her ſenſibility; they were all ambitious of the honour of her acquaintance. The ſtings of envy were never pointed againſt unconſcious merit.

Anjengo, it is to the influence of thy happy climate that ſhe certainly was indebted for that almoſt incompatible harmony of voluptuouſneſs and decency, which diffuſed itſelf over all her perſon, and accompanied all her motions. A ſtatuary who would have wiſhed to repreſent voluptuouſneſs, would have taken her for his model; and ſhe would equally have ſerved for him who might have had a figure of modeſty to diſplay. Even the gloomy and clouded ſky of England had not been able to obſcure the brightneſs of that aërial kind of ſoul, unknown in our climates. In every thing that Eliza did, an irreſiſtible charm was diffuſed around her. Deſire, but of a timid and bashful caſt, followed her ſteps in ſilence. Any man of courteouſneſs alone muſt have loved her, but would not have dared to own his paſſion.

I ſearch for Eliza every where: I diſcover, I diſcern ſome of her features, ſome of her charms, ſcattered among thoſe women whoſe figure is moſt inte-

reſting. But what is become of her who united them all? Nature, who haſt exhauſted thy gifts to form an Eliza, didſt thou create her only for one moment? Didſt thou make her to be admired for one inſtant, and to be for ever regretted?

All who have ſeen Eliza, regret her. As for myſelf, my tears will never ceaſe to flow for her all the time I have to live. But is this ſufficient? Thoſe who have known her tenderneſs for me, the confidence ſhe had beſtowed upon me, will they not ſay to me, She is no more, and yet thou liveſt.

Eliza intended to quit her country, her relations, her friends, to take up her reſidence along with me, and ſpend her days in the midſt of mine. What happineſs had I not promiſed to myſelf? What joy did I not expect, from ſeeing her ſought after by men of genius, and beloved by women of the niceſt taſte? I ſaid to myſelf, Eliza is young, and thou art near thy latter end. It is ſhe who will cloſe thine eyes. Vain hope! Fatal reverſe of all human probabilities! My old age has been prolonged beyond the days of her youth. There is now no perſon in the world exiſting for me. Fate has condemned me to live, and die alone.

Eliza's mind was cultivated, but the effects of this art were never perceived. It had done nothing more than embelliſh nature; it ſerved in her only to make the charm more laſting. Every inſtant increaſed the delight ſhe inſpired; every inſtant rendered her more intereſting. Such is the impreſſion ſhe had left in India; ſuch is the impreſſion ſhe made in Europe. Eliza then was very beautiful? No, ſhe was ſimply beautiful: but there was no beauty ſhe did not eclipſe, becauſe ſhe was the only one that was like herſelf.

Eliza has written; and the men of her nation, whoſe works have been the moſt abounding in elegance and taſte, would not have diſavowed the ſmall number of pages ſhe has left behind her.

When I ſaw Eliza, I experienced a ſenſation unknown to me. It was too warm to be no more than friendſhip; it was too pure to be love. Had it been

BOOK III. a paſſion, Eliza would have pitied me; ſhe would have endeavoured to bring me back to my reaſon, and I ſhould have completely loſt it.

Eliza uſed frequently to ſay, that ſhe had a greater eſteem for me than for any one elſe. At preſent I may believe it.

In her laſt moments, Eliza's thoughts were fixed upon her friend; and I cannot write a line without having before me the monument ſhe has left me. Oh! that ſhe could alſo have endowed my pen with her graces and her virtue! Methinks, at leaſt, I hear her ſay, "That ſtern muſe that looks at you, is Hiſtory, "whoſe awful duty it is to determine the opinion of "poſterity. That fickle deity that hovers o'er the "globe, is Fame, who condeſcended to entertain us a "moment about you; ſhe brought me thy works, and "paved the way for our connection by eſteem. Be"hold that phœnix immortal amidſt the flames: it is "the ſymbol of Genius, which never dies. Let theſe "emblems perpetually incite thee to ſhow thyſelf the "defender of HUMANITY, of TRUTH, and of LIBERTY."

Eliza, from the higheſt heaven, thy firſt, and laſt country, receive my oath: I SWEAR NOT TO WRITE ONE LINE IN WHICH THY FRIEND MAY NOT BE RECOGNIZED.

Cochin was a place of great note when the Portugueſe arrived in India. They made themſelves maſters of it, and were afterwards diſpoſſeſſed by the Dutch. The ſovereign, at the time this place was taken from him, had preſerved his dominions, which, in the ſpace of five and-twenty years, have been repeatedly invaded by the people of Travancor. His misfortunes have obliged him to take refuge under the walls of his ancient capital, where he lives upon a revenue of 14,400 livres [600l.], which was ſtipulated to be paid him by ancient capitulations, out of the produce of his cuſtoms. In the ſame ſuburb is a colony of induſtrious Jews, who are white men, and ridiculouſly pretend to have been ſettled here ſince the time of the Babyloniſh captivity, but have certainly been in this ſituation a very conſiderable time. A town

encompaſſed with fertile lands, and built upon a river that receives veſſels of five hundred tons burden, and communicates by ſeveral navigable branches to the interior parts of the country, may naturally be expected to be in a flouriſhing condition. If it be otherwiſe, it is entirely owing to the oppreſſive nature of the government.

This oppreſſive ſpirit is at leaſt as ſenſibly felt at Calicut: all nations are admitted thither, but none have any ſway. The ſovereign who rules there at preſent is a Bramin; and the people are conſequently under a theocracy, which, in proceſs of time, becomes the worſt of all governments, becauſe the hand of the gods adds to the weight of the ſceptre of the tyrants, and the ſanctity of one of the authorities, occaſions a blind ſubmiſſion, and under pain of ſacrilege, to the caprices of the other. The orders of the deſpot are changed into oracles, and the diſobedience of the ſubjects incurs the ſtigma of a revolt againſt Heaven. The throne of Calicut is almoſt the only one in India that is filled by a perſon of this firſt of the caſts. In other places, the crown is worn by inferior tribes, and even by perſons of ſo obſcure a caſt, that their domeſtics would be diſhonoured and baniſhed from their tribes, if they condeſcended even to eat with their monarchs. Theſe people take care not to boaſt of having ſupped with the king: this prejudice is not, perhaps, more ridiculous than any other. It humbles the pride of princes, and deprives courtiers of one ſource of vanity. Such is the influence of ſuperſtition, that it gives riſe to the univerſal prevalence of opinion. By ſuperſtition artifice divides the empire with power: when the latter has conquered and enſlaved the world, the former interpoſes and preſcribes laws in its turn: they enter into a league with each other, mankind fall proſtrate, and ſubmit to their chains. If it ſhould happen that theſe two powers, being diſſatisfied, ſhould riſe up the one againſt the other, then it is that the blood of the citizens is ſeen ſtreaming in the ſtreets. One party ranges itſelf un-

BOOK III.

der the ſtandard of ſuperſtition, the other under the banners of the ſovereign. Fathers murder their children; and children plunge, without heſitation, the poniard in the breaſt of their fathers. Every idea of juſtice is at an end; every ſentiment of humanity is annihilated; man ſeems metamorphoſed at once into a wild beaſt. The cry on one ſide is, Rebels, obey your monarch; on the other, Sacrilegious, impious men, obey your God, the maſter of your king, or die. I ſhall addreſs myſelf, then, to all the ſovereigns of the earth, and I ſhall venture to reveal to them the ſecret thought of the prieſthood. If the prieſt were to explain himſelf frankly, he would ſay, If the ſovereign be not my lictor, he is mine enemy; I have put the axe into his hand, but on condition that I ſhall point out to him the heads that are to be ſtruck off. The Bramins, the depoſitaries of religion and the ſciences throughout Indoſtan, are employed as miniſters in moſt of the ſtates, and diſpoſe of every thing at pleaſure; but affairs are not the better managed on that account.

The adminiſtration of Calicut is bad in general, and that of the capital ſtill worſe. No police is eſtabliſhed, no fortifications are raiſed. The trade, which is clogged with a multiplicity of impoſts, is almoſt entirely in the hands of a few of the moſt abandoned and faithleſs Moors in Aſia. One of its greateſt advantages is, that by the river Baypore, which is only at two leagues diſtance, it has the means of being furniſhed with teak timber, which grows upon the plains and mountains in great abundance.

The territories that border upon Calicut, and belong to the houſe of Colaſtry, are little known, except by the French colony at Mahé, which is riſing up again from its aſhes, and that of the Engliſh at Tellecherry, which has experienced no misfortune. The latter, which contains a population of fifteen or ſixteen thouſand ſouls, had three hundred white men and five hundred blacks for its defence; they have been recalled ſince the nation has acquired in theſe

ſeas an aſcendant, which removes the apprehenſion of ſeeing the ſettlement inſulted. At preſent they draw from thence annually (with very little expence) fifteen hundred thouſand pounds weight of pepper, and ſome other proviſions of little importance.

If we except a few principalities that ſcarce deſerve mention, the ſtates we have been deſcribing properly conſtitute the whole of the Malabar, a country more agreeable than opulent. The exports conſiſt chiefly of aromatics and ſpices. The principal articles are ſanders wood, India ſaffron, cardamom, ginger, baſtard cinnamon, and pepper.

The ſantalum or ſanders grows to the ſize of a walnut tree. Its leaves are entire oval, and placed oppoſite to each other. Its flower is of one ſingle piece, charged with eight ſtamina, and ſupported upon the piſtil, which becomes an inſipid berry, reſembling in form that of the laurel. Its wood is white in the circumference, and yellow in the centre when the tree is old. This difference of colour conſtitutes two kinds of ſanders, both employed for the ſame purpoſes, and having equally a bitter taſte, and an aromatic ſmell. With the powder of this wood a paſte is prepared, with which the Chineſe, Indians, Perſians, Arabians, and Turks, anoint their bodies. It is likewiſe burnt in their houſes, and yields a fragrant and wholeſome ſmell. The greateſt quantity of this wood, to which a ſharp and attenuating virtue is aſcribed, remains in India. The red ſanders, though in leſs eſtimation, and leſs generally uſed, is ſent by preference into Europe. This is the produce of a different tree, which is common on the coaſt of Coromandel. Some travellers confound it with the wood of Caliatour, which is uſed in dyeing.

The Indian ſaffron, called by the phyſicians *curcuma*, or *terra merita*, has a very low and herbaceous ſtem, formed by the union of the buds, and compoſed of five or ſix very long leaves, which bear upon very long ſtalks. The flowers, diſpoſed in a huſky ſpike near the root, are purpliſh, with ſix unequal diviſions;

BOOK III.

they have but one ſtamina, ſupported, as they are, upon the piſtil, which becomes a capſula with three diviſions, full of round ſeeds. The root is compoſed of five or ſix oblong and knotty tubercles. It is reckoned to have an aperient quality, and to be a remedy for the jaundice. The Indians make a yellow dye of it; and it is an ingredient in moſt of their diſhes.

Several kinds of cardamom are found in the different countries of India, and the diſtinct characters of them have not been ſufficiently obſerved. That which grows in the territories of Cochin, Calicut, and Cananor, is the ſmalleſt and moſt eſteemed. It has, as well as the other ſorts, a great deal of analogy with the Indian ſaffron, from which it differs, in having its leaves much more numerous, its ſtem higher, its ſpike of flowers looſer, and coming immediately from the root, and its fruit leſs. Its ſeeds, which have an agreeable aromatic flavour, are uſed in moſt Indian ragouts. It is often mixed with areca and betel, and ſometimes chewed afterwards; and is uſed in medicine, chiefly to help digeſtion, and to ſtrengthen the ſtomach. The cardamom has no need of cultivation, and grows naturally in places covered with the aſhes of plants that have been burnt.

The ginger reſembles the cardamom, both in the diſpoſition and ſtructure of its flowers. The ſpike comes from the ſame point. The root, which is knotty and creeping, ſhoots out ſeveral ſtems of three feet high, the leaves of which are narrower. It is white, tender, and almoſt as pungent to the palate as pepper. The Indians put it into their rice, which is their common diet, to correct the natural inſipidity of this food. This ſpice, mixed with others, gives the diſhes ſeaſoned with it a ſtrong taſte, which is extremely diſagreeable to foreigners. The Europeans, however, who come to Aſia in low circumſtances, are obliged to accuſtom themſelves to it. Others adopt it out of complaiſance to their wives, who are generally natives of the country. It is here, as in all other places, much eaſier for the men to conform to the taſte and foibles

of the women, than to get the better of them. Perhaps too the climate may require this manner of living. The beſt ginger is that which is cultivated in the Malabar; the ſecond ſort comes from Bengal. That which grows in the Decan, and in all the Indian Archipelago, is leſs eſteemed; if, however, we except the red ginger of the Moluccas, a ſpecies differing from the common ſort in the colour of its root, and in having a leſs acid taſte. BOOK III.

Baſtard cinnamon, known in Europe by the name of *caſſia lignea*, is to be had at Timor, Java, and Mindanao; but that which grows on the Malabar coaſt is much ſuperior. The tree which produces it, like that of Ceylon, is a ſpecies of laurel; it yields the ſame produce, and reſembles it in moſt of its characters. Its leaves are longer; its bark more thick and red; it has leſs flavour; and is diſtinguiſhed particularly by a kind of viſcidity that is perceived in chewing. By theſe marks we may detect the fraud of the merchants, who ſell it mixed with the true cinnamon, the virtues of which are infinitely ſuperior, and the price four times as much. The Dutch, deſpairing of being able to root up all the trees out of the foreſts that produce it, contrived to require, during their ſuperiority in Malabar, the ſovereigns of the country to renounce their right of barking them. This engagement, which was never ſtrictly obſerved, has been leſs fulfilled ſince the nation that made it has loſt its authority, and has advanced the price of the cinnamon of Ceylon. The preſent produce of the cinnamon at Malabar may be computed at two hundred thouſand weight. The ſmalleſt portion of it is brought to Europe; the reſt is diſpoſed of in India. The trade is entirely in the hands of the free Engliſh merchants; it may admit of improvement, but will never be equal to that of pepper.

The pepper plant is a ſhrub, the root of which is fibrous and blackiſh. Its ſtem, which is ſarmentous and flexible, requires a tree or a prop to ſupport it. It is branchy, and full of knots; from each of which an oval leaf goes off, ſharp pointed, very ſmooth, and

BOOK III.

marked with five nerves; and it is of a ſtrong and poignant flavour. Towards the middle of the branches, and more frequently at their extremities, we ſee little buds reſembling thoſe of the currant tree, which bear about thirty flowers, compoſed of two ſtamina and one piſtil. The fruit that ſucceeds is at firſt green, then red, and of the bigneſs of a pea. It is uſually gathered in October, four months after the flowering ſeaſon, and it is expoſed to the ſun for ſeven or eight days. The black colour it then acquires has given it the name of black pepper. It is made white by ſtripping it of its outward ſkin. The largeſt, heavieſt, and leaſt ſhrivelled, is the beſt.

The pepper plant flouriſhes in the iſlands of Java, Sumatra, and Ceylon, and more particularly on the Malabar coaſt. It is not ſown, but planted; and great nicety is required in the choice of the ſhoots. It produces no fruit till the end of three years; but bears ſo plentifully the three ſucceeding years, that ſome plants yield between ſix and ſeven pounds of pepper. The produce from that period continues decreaſing; and the ſhrub declines ſo faſt, that in twelve years time it ceaſes bearing.

The culture of pepper is not difficult; it is ſufficient to plant it in a rich ſoil, and carefully to pull up the weeds that grow in great abundance round its roots, eſpecially the three firſt years. As the ſun is highly neceſſary to the growth of the pepper plant, when it is ready to bear, the trees that ſupport it muſt be lopped, to prevent their ſhade from injuring the fruit. When the ſeaſon is over, it is proper to crop the head of the plant. Without this precaution there would be too much wood, and little fruit.

The pepper exported from Malabar, which was formerly entirely in the hands of the Portugueſe, and is at preſent divided between the Dutch, Engliſh, and French, amounts to about ten millions weight. At ten ſols a pound [5d.] it is an object of five millions [208,333l. 6s. 8d.]: it is exported, with other productions, for half that ſum. By the ſale of theſe commo-

dities the country is enabled to purchaſe rice from the Ganges and Canara, coarſe linens from Myſore and Bengal, and ſeveral ſorts of goods from Europe. The payments in money amount to little or nothing.

Canara, a country bordering upon Malabar, properly ſo called, has been ſucceſsfully increaſed by the provinces of Onor, Baticala, Bandel, and Cananor, by which it has acquired a conſiderable degree of extent. It is very fertile, and particularly in rice. It was formerly the moſt flouriſhing ſtate in theſe regions; but it declined when its ſovereign was compelled to give annually from twelve to thirteen hundred thouſand livres [from 50,000l. to 54,166l. 13s. 4d.] to the Marattas, his neighbours, to preſerve his kingdom from their plunders. It has ſtill continued declining ſince Heyder-Ali-Khan became the maſter of it. Mangalore, which ſerved for its harbour, has fallen into proportional decay. It has been leſs frequented by foreign navigators, becauſe proviſions were no longer ſo plentiful there, and becauſe the multiplicity of taxes has increaſed the price of them exceſſively. Nevertheleſs the manners of the place have remained as corrupt as they have been from time immemorial. Canara is always able to ſupply the moſt voluptuous courteſans, and the fineſt dancers in Indoſtan.

Preſent ſtate of Goa.

Commerce, that raiſed Venice from her canals, and Amſterdam from her moraſſes, had rendered Goa the centre of the riches of India, and one of the moſt celebrated marts of the univerſe. Time; the revolutions ſo common in Aſia; the pride inſeparable from great proſperity; the effeminacy that attends on wealth eaſily acquired; the competition of more enlightened nations; the embezzlements of the treaſury, and thoſe of individuals; perfidious and atrocious acts of all kinds: theſe cauſes, and others, perhaps, which have eſcaped our notice, have haſtened the deſtruction of this proud city. It is now reduced to nothing; and the defects of its adminiſtration, the corruption of its citizens, the influence of its monks in public deliberations, do not give any hopes of its re-eſtabliſhment.

BOOK III. Deprived of ſo many fertile provinces, which implicitly obeyed its laws, it has nothing remaining but the ſmall iſland on which it is ſituated, and the two peninſulas that form its harbour.

Account of the pirates of Angria.

To the north of Goa, the Marattas, maſters of ſome poſts on the ſea ſhore, infeſted this ocean with their piracies. The Mogul, who had juſt ſubdued the northern parts of the coaſt, was highly incenſed at them. In order to protect the navigation of his ſubjects, he equipped a fleet, principally deſtined to repreſs this ſpirit of rapine. At this period the two powers attacked each other. In theſe repeated and bloody engagements, the Maratta Konna Ji Angria diſplayed ſuch diſtinguiſhed talents, that the direction of the maritime forces of his nation was conferred upon him; and ſoon after, the government of the important fortreſs of Severn-droog, built upon a ſmall iſland, at a little diſtance from the continent.

This extraordinary man had conquered only for himſelf. He prevailed upon the companions of his victories to adopt his plan of independence; and, with their aſſiſtance, he ſeized upon the ſhips which he had ſo long and ſo fortunately commanded. The efforts made to reduce him to obedience again were ineffectual. The allurement of plunder, and the fame of his generoſity, drew even ſo great a number of intrepid adventurers about him, that it was eaſy for him to become a conqueror. His dominion extended forty leagues along the coaſt, from Tamana to Rajapour, and twenty or thirty miles within land, according to the diſpoſition of the places, and the facility of their being defended. Nevertheleſs he owed his greateſt ſucceſs, and all his reputation, to naval operations, which were continued with the ſame activity, the ſame bravery, and the ſame ſkill, by the heirs of his name and of his dominions.

At firſt, theſe pirates only attacked the Indian, Mooriſh, or Arabian veſſels, that had not purchaſed paſſports from them. In proceſs of time, they inſulted the flag of the Europeans, who were reduced to

the neceſſity of never ſailing without a convoy. This precaution was not only very expenſive, but proved alſo inſufficient: even the ſhips that compoſed the eſcort were often attacked, and ſeveral times carried off from their anchors.

Theſe depredations had laſted fifty years, when, in 1722, the Engliſh joined their forces with thoſe of the Portugueſe againſt theſe pirates; and it was determined between them to deſtroy the place of their reſort. The expedition was diſgraceful and abortive. That which was undertaken by the Dutch, two years after, with ſeven men of war and two bomb-ketches, met with no better ſucceſs. At length the Marattas, upon the people of Angria refuſing to pay a tribute which had long been cuſtomary, agreed to attack the common enemy by land, while the Engliſh attacked them by ſea. This confederacy obtained a complete conqueſt. Moſt of the harbours and forts were taken in the campaign of 1755. Geriah, the capital, ſurrendered the year following, and with it fell a power, the proſperity of which had been only founded on public calamities. By its ruin, the power of the Marattas, which was formidable already, was unhappily increaſed.

Preſent ſtate of the Marattas on the coaſt of Malabar.

Theſe people, who had been long confined within the limits of their mountains, have, by degrees, extended themſelves towards the ſea, and at preſent poſſeſs the large ſpace between Surat and Goa, where they equally threaten theſe two cities. They are famous for their incurſions and depredations on the coaſt of Coromandel, in the neighbourhood of Delhi, and on the banks of the Ganges; but the centre of their greateſt ſtrength, and their fixed ſtation, is at Malabar. That ſpirit of rapine, which they carry into the countries where they occaſionally make inroads, is forſaken in the provinces they have conquered. They have already alleviated the miſery of thoſe places which were oppreſſed for ſo long a time by the tyranny of the Portugueſe, and with which they have ſucceſſively enlarged their empire. Their conduct has been very different upon the neighbouring ſeas. They not only

BOOK III.

plunder all the ſhips there, which are too weak to reſiſt them, but alſo give an aſylum to foreign pirates, who will conſent to ſhare their captures with them.

Revolutions that have happened to Surat. Conſequence of the influence which the Engliſh have acquired there.

Surat was for a long time the only ſea-port for the exportation of the manufactures of the Mogul empire, and the importation of whatever was neceſſary to ſupply its conſumption. To ſecure its allegiance, and provide for its defence, a citadel was built, the commandant of which had no authority over that of the town; care was even taken to chooſe two governors, who, from their character, were not likely to unite in oppreſſing trade. Some diſagreeable circumſtances gave riſe to a third power. The Indian ſeas were infeſted with pirates, who interrupted the navigation, and prevented devout Muſſulmen from making voyages to Mecca. The emperor thought the chief of a colony of Coffrees, who were ſettled at Rajapour, would be the proper perſon to ſtop the progreſs of theſe depredations, and therefore appointed him his admiral. Three lacks of rupees, or 720,000 livres [30,000l.], were aſſigned him for his annual pay. This ſalary not being punctually paid, the admiral ſeized the caſtle, and from that fortreſs laid the town under contribution. A ſcene of general confuſion enſued; and the avarice of the Marattas, which was always active, became more eager than ever. Theſe barbarians, who had extended their uſurpations even to the gates of the place, had for a long time been allowed a third part of the duties, on condition that they ſhould not moleſt the inland trade. They contented themſelves with this contribution, ſo long as fortune did not throw more conſiderable advantages in their way. As ſoon as they perceived this ferment among the citizens, not doubting that one of the parties might be tranſported ſo far by reſentment as to open the gates to them, they drew their forces near to the walls. The traders finding their effects daily in danger of being plundered, called the Engliſh to their aſſiſtance in 1759, and aided them in taking the citadel. The court of Delhi confirmed them in the poſſeſſion of it,

and in the exercise of the naval command, together with the appointments annexed to both commissions. This revolution restored some degree of tranquillity to Surat and its Nabob; while it made them, however, totally dependent upon the power they had called in to their assistance.

This success enlarged the ambitious views of the agents of the English Company. Those among them who conducted the affairs on the Malabar coast were troubled with secret discontent, at not having had any share in the immense fortunes that had been made on the Coromandel coast, and in Bengal. They turned their avaricious views on all sides, and at length, in 1771, fixed them upon Baroche, a large town, situated at the distance of five and thirty miles from the mouth of the river Nerdaba, which falls into the Gulf of Cambaia, and very anciently celebrated for the richness of its soil, and the abundance of its manufactures. Even the trading ships cannot get up to it without the assistance of the tide, nor come out but when the tide ebbs.

Five hundred white men, and a thousand blacks, set out from Bombay, to take possession of the place, upon the most frivolous pretences. The expedition failed, from the incapacity of the person who was intrusted with the conduct of it. It was resumed the next year. The besieged, emboldened by their first success, and still more, perhaps, by an ancient tradition, which promised them that their town would never be taken, defended themselves for a considerable time; but at length their walls were carried by an assault.

During the whole siege, the mother of the Nabob had not quitted her son, braving along with him the ravages of the cannon and of the bombs. They went out of the place together, when it was no longer tenable, and were pursued. *Go*, said this heroic woman to the companion of her flight, *Go, and seek an asylum and succours among your allies; I will retard the march of our enemies, and may perhaps escape them.* Finding herself afterwards too closely pressed, she was seen to have recourse to that act so common in Indostan among

BOOK III.

the women who have kept their daggers: ſhe plunged one into her heart, to avoid falling into the hands of the enemy. Her ſon did not long ſurvive her.

This prince, before his cataſtrophe, was obliged to give to the Marattas the ſix-tenths of his revenue, which did not exceed 1,680,000 livres [70,000l.]. It was by virtue of their being in poſſeſſion of Amed-Abad, capital of the Guzarat, that theſe barbarians exacted this tribute. The Engliſh not only refuſed to ſubmit to this humiliating tribute, but wanted alſo to extend their rights over the whole province. Claims of ſo oppoſite a nature laid the foundations of diſcord. All theſe troubles were appeaſed in 1776 by a treaty, which regulated that the ancient uſurpers ſhould preſerve their conqueſts, but that the new ones ſhould have the free poſſeſſion of Baroche, and that a territory ſhould be added to its own, the taxes upon which were to produce 720,000 livres [30,000l.].

The Marattas ſeemed then to be in a ſituation which did not permit them to expect ſo favourable an arrangement. The union ſubſiſting between theſe pirates had never been ſhaken. This harmony had enſured them a decided ſuperiority over the other powers of Indoſtan, which were perpetually agitated with domeſtic feuds. Their firſt diviſions broke out in 1773. The brother and the ſon of their laſt chief diſputed the empire, and the divided ſubjects took part with the one and the other, according to their reſpective inclinations or intereſts.

During the courſe of theſe civil wars, the Soubah of the Decan regained the poſſeſſion of the provinces which the calamities of the times had obliged him to abandon to theſe barbarians. Heyder-Ali-Khan appropriated to himſelf that part of their territory that was moſt ſuitable to him. The Engliſh thought the opportunity favourable for ſeizing upon Salſette, from whence the Marattas had driven the Portugueſe in 1740.

Deſcription of the iſland of Salſette.

The conqueſt of this iſland was not ſo eaſily accompliſhed as it had been expected. The citadel of

Tanah, in which all its ſtrength conſiſted, was defended with a degree of ſkill and perſeverance unknown in theſe regions. When it was ſummoned to ſurrender, the governor, a man of ninety-two years of age, proudly anſwered, *I was not ſent here for that purpoſe;* and he immediately doubled his exertions and his courage. It was not till after he had been ſlain, and after his brave companions had ſuſtained a very bloody aſſault ſince his death, that the Britiſh troops entered the place on the 28th December 1774.

Then it was only that the conqueror found himſelf maſter of a territory, which, though it be no more than twenty miles long, and fifteen broad, is one of the moſt populous and moſt fertile in Aſia. In the centre of it is the mountain of Keneri, full of large and deep excavations, all of them cut in the body of the rock. Theſe are ſo many pagodas, generally arranged in a line, but ſometimes placed one above the other. They are moſt frequently ornamented with figures and inſcriptions cut or engraved upon ſtone. The ſame ſingularities are obſervable in the iſland of Elephants, bordering upon Salſette.

Works of ſo aſtoniſhing a nature have given riſe to a multiplicity of fabulous accounts. The common people think they were executed five hundred thouſand years ago, by divinities of an inferior order. Some Bramins aſcribe them to Alexander the Great, whom they delight to honour with every thing that appears to them above the natural powers of man. We may reaſonably expect, that the Engliſh, to whom we are indebted for ſo much information reſpecting Aſia, will neglect no opportunity of being acquainted with the nature of theſe monuments, which are capable of throwing ſo great a light upon the hiſtory and religion of the Indies. They will the more eaſily accompliſh this, as Salſette is only ſeparated from Bombay by a very narrow channel.

Deſcription of the iſland of Bombay, its preſent

This iſland, which is little more than twenty, or five and twenty miles in circumference, was, for a long time, an object of general horror. No man

BOOK III.

ſtate, and its importance.

choſe to ſettle upon a territory ſo unhealthy, as to give riſe to the proverb, *That at Bombay a man's life did not exceed two monſoons.* The country places were then filled with bamboos and cocoa trees: it was with ſtinking fiſh that the trees were dunged, and the coaſts were corrupted with infectious fens. Theſe principles of deſtruction would undoubtedly have diſguſted the Engliſh of their colonies, had they not been detained there by the beſt harbour in Indoſtan, and the only one which, beſide that of Goa, is capable of receiving ſhips of the line. So ſingular an advantage made them deſirous of correcting the inſalubrity of the air, which was eaſily done by laying the country open, and procuring a drain for the waters. Then the inhabitants of the neighbouring regions, attracted by the mildneſs of the government, reſorted in multitudes to this ſettlement.

If we caſt an eye upon the globe ſince the origin of hiſtory, we ſhall ſee men purſued by calamity, and fixing wherever they can be allowed to breathe. Is it not ſurpriſing, that the univerſality, and conſtant appearance of this phenomenon, has not yet taught the rulers of the earth, that the only way to prevent emigrations, is to make their ſubjects enjoy a ſituation mild enough to fix them in the country that gave them birth?

It is computed, that there are at preſent at Bombay near one hundred thouſand inhabitants, ſeven or eight thouſand of whom are ſailors: a few of them are employed in manufactures of ſilk and cotton. As the larger productions could not proſper upon a rock where the ſoil has very little depth, the attention of the people has been turned towards the cultivation of an excellent kind of onion, which, together with the fiſh that is dried there, is advantageouſly ſold in the moſt diſtant markets. Theſe labours are not carried on with that degree of indolence ſo common under a burning ſky. The Indian has ſhowed himſelf ſuſceptible of emulation; and his character has been in ſome meaſure changed, by the example of the indefatigable

Perſees. The latter are not fiſhermen and cultivators alone. The conſtruction, fitting out, and diſpatching of ſhips; every thing, in a word, which concerns the road, or navigation, is intruſted to their activity and induſtry.

Before the year 1759, the ſhips diſpatched from Europe to the Red Sea, the Perſian Gulf, and the coaſt of Malabar, generally went to the coaſts where they were to depoſit their money and goods, and where they were to take in their freſh lading. At that period, they all went and ſtopped at Bombay, where all the merchandiſe from the neighbouring places is collected without expence, ſince the Company have been inveſted with the dignity of admiral to the great Mogul, and, in conſequence of this appointment, have been obliged to maintain a conſiderable maritime force in theſe latitudes.

It was neceſſary that a ſtaple of this kind ſhould be well ſupplied with docks, ſhips, and merchants. Accordingly, the iſland ſoon poſſeſſed itſelf of all the navigation, and great part of the trade of Surat, which the other neighbouring marts had before carried on in the Aſiatic ſeas.

Theſe advantages required to be ſettled upon a firm footing. To effect this, the harbour, which is the centre of ſo many tranſactions, and where the fleets ſent by Great Britain into the Indian ocean are to be repaired, has been ſurrounded with fortifications. Theſe works are conſtructed with ſolidity, and have no other defect, it is ſaid, than that of being too extenſive. They are defended by twelve hundred Europeans, and a much greater number of Aſiatic troops.

In 1773, the revenue of Bombay, and all its dependences, amounted to 13,607,212 livres 10 ſols [566,967l. 3s. 4d.], and the expences to 12,711,150 livres [529,631l. 5s.]. The ſtate of theſe numerous colonies has been certainly improved ſince that period; but we cannot aſcertain the amount of theſe improvements.

BOOK III.

State of the coaſt of Coromandel, at the time of the arrival of the Engliſh.

The poſſeſſions of the Engliſh and the Marattas on the Malabar coaſt, are too much intermixed; their intereſts too contrary; and their claims too extenſive, not to make it certain, that, ſooner or later, theſe two powers will be at variance. It is impoſſible to determine which of them will be conqueror: this event will depend upon the circumſtances they ſhall happen to be in at the time, upon the alliances they may have formed, and principally upon the ſtateſmen who ſhall direct their political meaſures. and upon the generals who ſhall have the command of their armies. Let us ſee whether tranquillity be more firmly eſtabliſhed on the coaſt of Coromandel and Orixa, which extend from Cape Comorin to the Ganges.

Geographers and hiſtorians always conſider theſe two countries, bordering on each other, as diſtinct, and as inhabited by people who have no reſemblance either in their manners or their coin. They alſo differ in their language. Thoſe of Orixa have an idiom of their own, while their neighbours generally ſpeak the Malabar tongue. But as the commerce in both is nearly the ſame, and carried on in the ſame manner, we ſhall comprehend them both under the ſingle name of Coromandel. The two coaſts reſemble each other in other reſpects. In both of them the heats are exceſſive; but, from the beginning of June to the middle of October, the ſea-breezes, which blow from ten o'clock in the morning till near ten at night, render the climate ſupportable. It is ſtill more refreſhed in the month of July, and eſpecially in November, by the rains which may be called inceſſant.

This immenſe ſhore is covered, for the ſpace of about a mile, with a ſand entirely barren, againſt which the waves of the Indian ocean break with violence. Formerly, none but canoes, made with planks, very ſlightly put together, and, as it were, only ſown with kayar landed on this ſpot. The firſt Europeans who came to theſe ſhores, were deſirous of landing there with larger and ſtronger built veſſels. Repeated misfortunes ſoon cured them of their preſumption. They

found, in proceſs of time, that nothing was more reaſonable than to conform to a practice, which had at firſt appeared to them fit only to be followed by an ignorant and unexperienced people. BOOK III.

There we many reaſons which at firſt occaſioned this country to be neglected by the Europeans who came to India. It was ſeparated by inacceſſible mountains from Malabar, where theſe bold navigators endeavoured to ſettle themſelves. Spices and aromatics, which were the principal objects of their attention, were not to be found there. In a word, civil diſſenſions had baniſhed from it tranquillity, ſecurity, and induſtry.

At that period, the empire of Biſnagar, to which this vaſt country was ſubject, was falling to ruin. The firſt monarchs of that illuſtrious ſtate owed their power to their abilities. They headed their armies in war; in peace, they directed their councils, viſited their provinces, and adminiſtered juſtice. Proſperity corrupted them. By degrees, they contracted the habit of withdrawing themſelves from the ſight of their people, and of leaving the cares of government to their generals and miniſters. This conduct paved the way for their ruin. The governors of Viſapour, the Carnatic, Golconda, and Orixa, threw off their dependence, and aſſumed the title of kings. Thoſe of Madura, Tanjore, Myſore, Gingi, and ſome others, likewiſe uſurped the ſovereign authority, but retained their ancient title of Naick. This great revolution had juſt happened when the Europeans appeared upon the coaſt of Coromandel.

The foreign trade was at that time inconſiderable: it conſiſted only of diamonds from Golconda, which were carried to Calicut and Surat, and from thence to Ormus or Suez, from whence they were circulated through Europe and Aſia. Maſſulipatan, the richeſt and moſt populous city in theſe countries, was the only market that was known for linens; they were purchaſed at a great fair annually holden there by the Arabian and Malayan veſſels that frequented that bay.

BOOK III.

and by caravans that arrived from diſtant parts. The linens were exported to the ſame places as the diamonds.

In what manner the Europeans have ſettled their trade on the Coromandel coaſt; and the extent they have given to it.

The taſte for the manufactures of Coromandel, which began to prevail here, inſpired all the European nations trading to the Indian ſeas with the reſolution of forming ſettlements there. They were not diſcouraged either by the difficulty of conveying goods from the inland parts of the country, where there was no navigable river; by the total want of harbours, where the ſea, at one ſeaſon of the year, is not navigable; by the barrenneſs of the coaſts, for the moſt part uncultivated and uninhabited; nor by the tyranny and fluctuating ſtate of the government. They thought that induſtry would come there in queſt of money; that Pegu would furniſh timber for building, and Bengal corn for ſubſiſtence; that a proſperous voyage of nine months would be more than ſufficient to complete their ladings; and that, by fortifying themſelves, they ſhould be ſecure againſt the attacks of the weak tyrants that oppreſſed theſe countries.

The firſt colonies were eſtabliſhed near the ſea-ſhore. Some of them obtained a ſettlement by force: moſt of them were formed with the conſent of the ſovereigns, and all were confined to a very narrow tract of land. The boundaries of each were marked out by a hedge of thorny plants, which was their only defence. In proceſs of time, fortifications were raiſed; and the ſecurity derived from them, added to the lenity of the government, ſoon increaſed the number of coloniſts. The ſplendour and independence of theſe ſettlements frequently excited the jealouſy of the princes in whoſe dominions they were formed; but their attempts to demoliſh them proved abortive. Each colony increaſed in proſperity, in proportion to the riches and the wiſdom of the nation that had founded it.

None of the companies that exerciſed an excluſive privilege beyond the Cape of Good Hope, had any concern in the trade of diamonds; which was always left to private merchants, and by degrees fell entirely

into the hands of the Engliſh, or the Jews and Armenians that lived under their protection. At preſent, this grand object of luxury and induſtry is much reduced. The revolutions that have happened in Indoſtan have prevented people from reſorting to theſe rich mines; and the anarchy into which this unhappy country is plunged, leaves no room to hope that they will be again attended to. The whole of the commercial operations on the coaſt of Coromandel is confined to the purchaſe of cottons.

The manufacturing of the white cottons bought there, differs ſo little from that of ours, that it would be neither intereſting nor inſtructive to enter into a minute deſcription of it. The proceſs uſed in making their printed cottons, which was at firſt ſervilely followed in Europe, has ſince been rendered more ſimple, and brought to greater perfection, by our manufacturers. The painted cottons, which are likewiſe bought there, we have not yet attempted to imitate. Thoſe who imagine we have been prevented from undertaking this branch of induſtry, merely by the high price of labour among us, are miſtaken. Nature has not given us the materials neceſſary for the compoſition of thoſe bright and indelible colours, which conſtitute the principal merit of the Indian manufactures; nor has ſhe furniſhed us with the waters that are of uſe to work them up properly.

The Indians do not univerſally obſerve the ſame method in painting their cottons; either becauſe there are ſome niceties peculiar to certain provinces, or becauſe different ſoils produce different drugs for the ſame uſes.

We ſhould tire the patience of our readers, were we to trace the ſlow and painful progreſs of the Indians in the art of painting their cottons. It is natural to believe that they have derived it from their antiquity, rather than from the fertility of their genius. The circumſtance that ſeems to authorize this conjecture is, that they have ſtopped in their improvements, and have not advanced a ſingle ſtep in the arts for many ages;

BOOK III.

whereas we have proceeded with amazing rapidity, and view, with an emulation full of confidence, the immenſe ſpace that ſtill lies between us and the goal. Indeed, were we to conſider only the want of invention in the Indians, we ſhould be tempted to believe that, from time immemorial, they had received the arts they cultivate from ſome more induſtrious nation: but when it is remembered that theſe arts are entirely dependent on the materials, gums, colours, and productions of India, we cannot but be convinced that they are natives of that country.

It may appear ſomewhat ſurpriſing that cottons painted with all colours ſhould be ſold at ſo moderate a price, that they are almoſt as cheap as thoſe which have only two or three. But it muſt be obſerved, that the merchants of the country ſell to all the companies a large quantity of cottons at a time; and that the demand for cottons painted with various colours makes but a ſmall article in their aſſortments, as they are not much eſteemed in Europe.

Though cottons of all ſorts be in ſome degree manufactured throughout the whole country of Indoſtan, which extends from Cape Comorin to the banks of the Ganges; it is obſervable, that the fine ſorts are made in the eaſtern part, the common ones in the centre, and the coarſe ones in the moſt weſtern diſtricts. Manufactures are eſtabliſhed in the European colonies, and upon the coaſt: they are more frequent at the diſtance of five or ſix leagues from the ſea, where cotton is more cultivated, and proviſions are cheaper. The purchaſes made there are carried thirty or forty leagues further into the country. The Indian merchants ſettled in our factories have always the management of this buſineſs.

The quantity and quality of the goods wanted are ſettled with theſe people: the price is fixed according to the patterns; and, at the time the contract is made, a third or a fourth part of the money agreed for is advanced. This arrangement is owing to the neceſſity theſe merchants themſelves lie under, of advancing

money to the workmen by the many partners or agents who are diſperſed throughout the whole country; by their being obliged to keep a watchful eye upon them, for the ſake of ſecuring the produce of theſe manufactures; and to diminiſh the quantity gradually, by withdrawing from the manufactures every piece that is finiſhed. Without theſe precautions, the Europeans would never receive what they require. The weavers, indeed, fabricate for their own profit whatever is uſed in home conſumption. Theſe undertakings, which require only a ſmall capital, and a capital too which returns every week, are ſeldom beyond the reach of the greateſt number of them: but few of them have means ſufficient, without being aſſiſted, to work the fine linens deſtined for exportation; and thoſe who had it in their power would not do it, from a well-grounded apprehenſion of the exactions that are too common under a government ſo oppreſſive.

The companies that have either capitals or good management conſtantly keep the ſtock of one year in advance in their ſettlements. By this method they are ſure of having the quantity of goods they have occaſion for, and of the quality they chooſe, at the moſt convenient time: not to mention that their workmen, and their merchants who are kept in conſtant employment, never leave them.

Thoſe nations that want money and credit cannot begin their mercantile operations till the arrival of their ſhips. They have only five or ſix months at moſt, to execute the orders ſent from Europe. The goods are manufactured and examined in haſte; and they are even obliged to take ſuch as are known to be bad, and would be rejected at any other time. The neceſſity they are under of completing their cargoes, and fitting out their veſſels before the hurricanes come on, allow no time for nicety of inſpection.

It would be a miſtake to imagine that the country agents could be prevailed upon to order goods to be made on their account, in hopes of ſelling them with a reaſonable advantage to the Company, in whoſe ſer-

BOOK III.

vice they are engaged. For beſides that the generality of them are not rich enough to embark in ſo large an undertaking, they would not be certain of finding their account in it. If the company that employ them ſhould be prevented, by unforeſeen accidents, from ſending the uſual number of ſhips, theſe merchants would have no vent for their commodities. The Indians, the form of whoſe dreſs requires different breadths and lengths from thoſe of the cottons fabricated for our uſe, would not purchaſe them; and the other European companies would be provided, or certain of being provided, with whatever the extent of their trade required, and their money enabled them to purchaſe. The plan of procuring loans, which was contrived to remedy this inconvenience, never has been, or can be uſeful.

It has been a cuſtom, time immemorial, in Indoſtan, for every citizen who borrows money to give a written inſtrument to his creditor. This deed is of no force in a court of judicature, unleſs it be ſigned by three witneſſes, and bear the day of the month, and the year when it was made, with the rate of intereſt agreed upon by the parties. If the borrower ſhould fail to fulfil his engagements, he may be arreſted by the lender himſelf. He is never impriſoned, becauſe there is no fear of his making his eſcape. He would not even eat without obtaining leave of his creditor.

The Indians make a threefold diviſion of intereſt; one of which is ſin, another neither ſin nor virtue, and a third virtue: this is their mode of expreſſion. The intereſt that is ſin is four per cent. a month; and the intereſt that is neither ſin nor virtue, is two; the intereſt that is virtue, one. The laſt is, in their opinion, an act of beneficence that only belongs to the moſt heroic minds. Yet though the Europeans who are forced to borrow meet with this treatment, it is plain they cannot avail themſelves of the indulgence without involving themſelves in ruin.

The foreign trade of Coromandel is not in the hands of the natives. In the weſtern part, indeed, there are

Mohammedans, known by the name of Chalias, who at Naour and Porto Nuovo, ſend out ſhips to Achen, Merguy, and Siam, and the eaſtern coaſt. Beſide veſſels of conſiderable burden employed in theſe voyages, they have ſmaller embarkations for the coaſting trade, for Ceylon, and the pearl fiſhery. The Indians of Maſſulipatan turn their attention another way. They import white callicoes from Bengal, which they dye or print, and ſell them again at the places from whence they had them, at thirty-five or forty per cent. advantage.

Excepting theſe tranſactions, which are of very little conſequence, the whole trade is veſted in the Europeans, who have no partners, but a few Banians and Armenians ſettled in their colonies. The quantity of callicoes exported from Coromandel to the different ſea-ports in India, may be computed at three thouſand five hundred bales. Of theſe the French carry eight hundred to Malabar, Mocha, and the Iſle of France; the Engliſh, twelve hundred, to Bombay, Malabar, Sumatra, and the Philippine Iſlands; and the Dutch, fifteen hundred, to their ſeveral ſettlements. Except five hundred bales deſtined for Manilla, each of the value of 2400 livres [100l.], the others are of ſo ordinary a kind that they do not exceed 720 livres [30l. 10s.] at prime coſt; ſo that the whole number of three thouſand five hundred bales does not amount to more than 3,360,000 livres [140,000l.].

Coromandel furniſhes Europe with nine thouſand five hundred bales: eight hundred of which are brought by the Danes; two thouſand five hundred, by the French; three thouſand, by the Engliſh; and three thouſand two hundred, by the Dutch. A conſiderable part of theſe callicoes is dyed blue, or ſtriped with red and blue for the African trade. The others are fine muſlins, printed callicoes, and handkerchiefs, from Maſſulipatan, or Falicate. It is proved by experience, that, one with another, each bale in the nine thouſand five hundred coſts only 960 li-

BOOK III.

vres [40l.], conſequently they ought to bring in to the manufactory where they are wrought 8,160,000 livres [340,000l.].

The payments are not entirely made in ſpecie, either in Europe or Aſia: we give in exchange woollen cloths, iron, lead, copper, coral, and ſome other articles of leſs value. On the other hand, Aſia pays with ſpices, rice, ſugar, corn, and dates. All theſe articles taken together, may amount to 4,800,000 livres [200,000l.]. From this calculation, it follows, that Coromandel receives 6,720,000 livres [280,000l.] in money.

Poſſeſſions of the Engliſh on the coaſt of Coromandel.

The Engliſh, who have acquired the ſame ſuperiority upon this coaſt that they have elſewhere, have formed on it ſeveral ſettlements. The firſt that preſents itſelf is Devi-cottah. It was Colonel Lawrence who firſt ſeized upon it in 1749. Some political conſiderations determined the king of Tanjore to give up what had been taken from him, and to add to it a territory of three miles in circumference. In 1758, the place paſſed under the dominion of the French, but ſoon after returned, without fortifications, under that of its firſt conquerors. They flattered themſelves, that they ſhould make an important poſt of it. It was an opinion almoſt generally received, that the river Colram, which waſhes its walls, might be put in a condition to receive large ſhips. The coaſt of Coromandel would not then have been without a harbour; and the nation, in poſſeſſion of the only road that could be found there, would have had a powerful advantage, both with reſpect to war and commerce, of which its rival nations would have been deprived. Some unforeſeen obſtacles muſt have rendered this project impracticable, ſince the poſt has been abandoned, and farmed out for a rent of forty-five, or fifty thouſand livres [from 1875l. to 2083l. 6s. 8d.].

In 1686, the Engliſh purchaſed Cudalore, with a territory extending eight miles along the coaſt, and four miles into the interior part of the country. This acquiſition, which they obtained of an Indian prince

for the ſum of 742,500 livres [30,937l. 10s.], was confirmed to them by the Moguls, who ſoon after made themſelves maſters of the Carnatic. Conſidering afterwards, that the fortreſs, which they found ready built, was more than a mile from the ſea, and that the reinforcements deſtined for it might be intercepted, they built Fort St. David within cannon-ſhot of it, at the mouth of a river, and on the verge of the Indian ocean. Since that time, three hamlets have been erected, which, with the town and fortreſs, are computed to contain ſixty thouſand ſouls. Their employment is dyeing blue, or painting the cottons that come from the inland parts of the country, and manufacturing the fineſt dimities in the world, to the amount of 1,500,000 livres [62,500l.]. The plundering of this ſettlement by the French in 1758, and the demoliſhing of its fortifications, have done it no laſting injury. Its ſpirit ſeems rather increaſed, though St. David has not been rebuilt, and Cudalore is only put into a condition of making a tolerable reſiſtance. A revenue of 144,000 livres [60,000l.] defrays all the expences of this ſettlement. Maſſulipatan affords advantages of another kind. BOOK III.

This town, which is ſituated at the mouth of the Criſtina, ſerves as a harbour for the provinces that formerly conſtituted the kingdom of Golconda, and for other countries with which it keeps up an eaſy intercourſe, by the means of excellent roads, and by the help of a river. It was anciently the moſt active, moſt populous, and richeſt market in Indoſtan. The great ſettlements ſucceſſively formed by the Europeans on the coaſt of Coromandel, made it loſe much of its conſequence. The French imagined that they could reſtore it to ſome of its former ſplendour, and made themſelves maſters of it in 1750. Nine years after, it paſſed from their hands into thoſe of the Engliſh, who are ſtill in poſſeſſion of it.

Theſe laſt ſovereigns have not ſucceeded, nor will they ever ſucceed, in bringing Maſſulipatan to the ſtate in which it was in very ancient times: but their

BOOK III.

efforts have not been entirely thrown away. As the plants which are uſed for dyeing the linens, are more plentiful, and of better quality, on this territory, than in any other part, ſome of the manufactures have been revived, and others extended. This acquiſition, however, will always be of leſs advantage to the Engliſh, from the goods they will purchaſe there, than from thoſe which they may ſell. From time immemorial, the people from the inland country uſed to come in caravans to provide themſelves with ſalt upon this coaſt. At preſent, they reſort to it from a more conſiderable diſtance, and in greater numbers than ever; and carry back with them, along with this article of abſolute neceſſity, many woollen goods, and ſeveral other works of European manufacture. This circulation, which has added conſiderably to the cuſtoms, will neceſſarily increaſe, unleſs it ſhould be put a ſtop to by any of thoſe revolutions which ſo frequently, and ſo dreadfully, change the face of this rich part of the globe.

Great Britain alſo poſſeſſes, upon this coaſt, the provinces of Candavir, of Moutaſanagar, of Elur, of Rajamandry, and Chicacol, which extend ſix hundred miles along the coaſt, and which run from thirty to ninety miles up the country. The French, who had obtained the ceſſion of them during the ſhort term of their proſperity, left them at the period of their imprudences and their misfortunes. They became again, though for a little time, part of the Soubahſhip of the Decan, from which they had been ſeparated, as it were, by force. In 1766, it became neceſſary to cede them to the Engliſh, whoſe inſatiable ambition was ſupported by intrigues artfully conducted, and by formidable forces. The colonies which the rival nations had formed in this great ſpace, were unmoleſted: but Vizagapatam, and the other factories of the ruling people, acquired freſh activity; and the number of them was increaſed. The country emerged a little from that ſtate of anarchy into which it had been plunged by a ſeries of petty tyrants. It yields a re-

venue of 9,000,000 of livres [375,000l.], of which only 2,025,000 livres [84,375l.] are given to the Indian prince who has been ſtripped of it. The exports from hence are at preſent five times more conſiderable than they were ten years ago.

The quantity of labour increaſes in proportion as the Zemindars, who were originally nothing more than farmers, are deprived of the abſolute authority they had uſurped during the commotions of their country, in proportion as they are reduced to an impoſſibility of making war againſt each other, and in proportion as the diſtricts ſubmitted to their juriſdiction are freed from their oppreſſion. The proſperity would be more rapid and brilliant, if the Engliſh government would preſerve an immenſe tract of land from the inundations of the Criſtina and the Guadavery, with which it is overflowed ſix months in the year; if theſe waters were prudently diſtributed for the purpoſe of watering the country; and if theſe two ſtreams were united by a navigable canal. The ancient Indians had an idea of theſe labours; and, perhaps, they were begun. At leaſt they are thought by men of underſtanding to be very practicable, and attended with little expence.

But how vain would be the hopes of ſuch an improvement? We are not afraid of being accuſed of injuſtice, in ſuſpecting that the Company is much more engaged with the thoughts of acquiring Orixa, a province which extends along the borders of the ſea, from their poſſeſſions in Golconda to the banks of the Ganges, which are equally ſubject to them.

Before the year 1736, this country made part of Bengal. At this period, the Marattas took poſſeſſion of it, and ſtill maintain themſelves in it. They left the European factories undiſturbed, and ſettled in the inland parts. Naagapour is their capital. Their military force conſiſts of forty thouſand horſe. Their people are chiefly employed in ſpinning cotton, which they go and ſell upon the coaſt. So great a diſmemberment of the rich empire they have conquered in

BOOK III.

this part of the globe, is diſpleaſing to the Engliſh, and their ambition is to unite it to their dominions.

However this may be, the goods bought, or fabricated in the ſettlements formed by this nation between Cape Comorin and the Ganges, are all collected at Madras.

This town was built more than a century ago, by William Langhorne, in the country of Arcot, and by the ſea-ſide. As he placed it in the midſt of a ſandy tract, altogether dry, and where there was no water fit for drinking, but what was fetched from the diſtance of more than a mile, people were curious to know what reaſons could have determined him to make ſo bad a choice. His friends pretended that his view was to draw thither all the trade of St. Thomas, which has actually been the conſequence; while his enemies imputed it to a deſire of continuing in the neighbourhood of a miſtreſs he had in that Portugueſe colony.

Madras is divided into the White Town and the Black Town. The firſt of theſe, more known in Europe by the name of Fort St. George, is inhabited only by the Engliſh. For a long time it had only a few fortifications, and thoſe very bad: but ſome conſiderable works have lately been added. The Black Town, which was formerly quite open, has been ſurrounded, ſince the year 1767, with a ſtrong wall, and a ditch filled with water. This precaution, joined to the ruin of Pondicherry, has collected three hundred thouſand men, Jews, Armenians, Moors, and Indians, on this ſpot.

At the diſtance of a mile from this ſettlement, is Chepauk, where the court of the Nabob of Arcot is fixed, ſince 1769.

The territory of Madras was formerly nothing: at preſent, it extends fifty miles weſt, fifty miles north, and fifty miles ſouth. In this large ſpace, there are conſiderable manufactures, which are conſtantly increaſing; and various kinds of cultivation, which are becoming more flouriſhing every day. Theſe different

branches of induſtry keep one hundred thouſand perſons employed.

Theſe conceſſions were the reward of a plan which the Engliſh had formed, of beſtowing the Carnatic on Mohammed-Ali-Khan, of the battles they had fought to maintain him in the poſt to which they had raiſed him, and of the good fortune they had to deſtroy the power of the French, ever ready to counteract their meaſures.

The fortunate Nabob ſoon reaped the fruits of his gratitude. His protectors, for their intereſt, as well as his, undertook to enlarge the bounds of his authority and of his dominions. Before the Mogul government had degenerated into anarchy, ſeveral Indian and Mooriſh princes uſed to ſend their tributes to the Carnatic, from whence they were to be conveyed to the treaſury of the empire. Since all the ſprings of government were relaxed, this double obligation was no longer fulfilled. The Engliſh confirmed the independence of the country, which they conſidered as their own: but they inſiſted, that the provinces which had been ſubordinate to that part of the country, ſhould continue in their former ſubjection. The weakeſt of them complied; others, more powerful, ventured to reſiſt; but they were ſubdued.

Theſe circumſtances combined, have given Mohammed-Ali-Khan a very extenſive dominion, and a revenue of 31,500,000 livres [1,312,500l.]. He gives up but nine millions [375,000l.] of this to the Engliſh, who are obliged to defend his fortreſſes and his dominions; ſo that there remain 22,500,000 livres [937,500l.] for his perſonal expences, and the ſupport of his civil government.

The Engliſh Company had valuable poſſeſſions on the coaſt of Coromandel, eighteen thouſand Sipahis well diſciplined, and three thouſand five hundred white troops. They diſpoſed at pleaſure of all the forces of the Carnatic. The only European nation that could have given them umbrage was ſubdued. They ſeemed, therefore, confirmed in the peaceful en-

BOOK III.

joyment of so many advantages, when, in 1767, they were attacked by Hyder-Ali-Khan, a soldier of fortune, who, after he had learnt the military art from the French, had made great conquests, and become master of Mysore. This daring and active adventurer, at the head of a better army than had ever been commanded by an Indian general, entered boldly into the countries which British valour was bound to defend. The war became a war of stratagem, as this artful commander wished it to be. Experience having taught him to fear the attacks of the infantry and artillery employed against him, he declined, as much as possible, any regular action, and contented himself with hovering about the enemy, harassing them, carrying off their foragers, and intercepting their provisions, while his cavalry was employed in ravaging the country, plundering the provinces, and spreading desolation as far as to the gates of Madras. These calamities made the English desirous of an accommodation, which they obtained, after a destructive and not very honourable war of two years.

Since that period, the views of the Company have been to prevent Hyder-Ali-Khan, the Marattas, and the Soubah of the Decan, the three chief powers of the peninsula, from making any conquests, or forming any close connection with each other. While they succeed in this political system, they will preserve their superiority on the coast of Coromandel: but they will be obliged to increase their revenue, which, in 1773, did not exceed 24,196,680 livres [1,008,195l.]; or they must diminish their expences, which, at the same period, amounted to 26,397,585 livres [1,089,899l. 7s. 6d.]. It will only be after this change has been accomplished that they will be in a condition effectually to protect their settlements at Sumatra.

English settlement in the island of Sumatra.

Although the road of this very extensive island had been frequented by the English ever since their arrival in India, it was not till 1688 that the island received a colony of these people. The navigators dispatched to Madras had orders to fix the factory at Indapoura, the

part of the country moſt abounding in gold; but chance decided the matter otherwiſe: the winds having driven the ſhips to Bencoolen, it was thought proper to fix there. BOOK III.

The two nations made their exchanges at firſt with a great deal of frankneſs and confidence: but this harmony did not ſubſiſt long. The agents of the Company ſoon gave themſelves up to that ſpirit of rapine and tyranny which the Europeans ſo univerſally carry into Aſia. Clouds of diſcontent began to ariſe between them and the natives, which were gradually collected into a ſtorm. The animoſity was already at its height, when the foundations of a fortreſs were ſeen riſing out of the ground, at the diſtance of two leagues from the city. At this ſight, the inhabitants of Bencoolen took up arms, and were joined by all the country. The magazines were burnt, and the Engliſh obliged to embark with precipitation. Their baniſhment was not of long continuance. They were recalled; and derived from their diſaſter the advantage of being allowed to finiſh the conſtruction of Fort Marlborough without oppoſition.

Their tranquillity was no more diſturbed till 1759. At this period, the French took the fort, and deſtroyed it, together with all the civil and military edifices. The booty was very inconſiderable, becauſe every thing of value had been removed in time. Even before the concluſion of hoſtilities, the Engliſh regained poſſeſſion of this place; but they did not reinſtate the works. Fort Marlborough then ſhook off the dependence it had hitherto been under to Madras, and conſtituted a direction of its own.

The Chineſe, the Malays, and the ſlaves brought from the Mozambique, form the population of the Engliſh ſettlement, which is defended by four hundred Europeans and ſome Sipahis. All the trade carried on there belongs to the free merchants, except that of pepper. The Company draw from thence annually fifteen hundred tons of it, which they get at an exceſſive low rate. Half of this produce is conveyed to

BOOK III.

Great Britain by a ſingle ſhip; the reſt is put on board two veſſels ſent from Europe, and which carry it to China, where it is diſpoſed of to advantage. In 1773, the revenue of this factory aroſe to 4,982,895 livres [207,620l. 12s. 6d.], and its expences were 3,165,480 livres [131,895l.].

Views of the Engliſh upon Balambangan. Their expulſion from that iſland.

This colony was not thought ſufficiently uſeful; accordingly, it was to have been abandoned, but not till after the ſucceſs of a great project that was meditated. The Engliſh had for a long time wiſhed for a poſſeſſion that might become a ſtaple, where the merchandiſe and proviſions of China, and of the Oriental iſlands, might be exchanged for the proviſions and merchandiſe of Indoſtan and Europe. Their plan was to make it the moſt conſiderable mart in Aſia. The iſland of Balambangan, ſituated at the northern point of Borneo, appeared to them calculated to anſwer their purpoſe; and the king of Solor reſigned it to them in 1766. The next year they planted their flag there; but it was not till 1772 that they formed their ſettlement. Some clerks, three hundred white or black ſoldiers, one ſhip, and two ſmaller veſſels, were the firſt beginnings of an edifice, which, in proceſs of time, was to be raiſed to an immenſe height. Unfortunately the commanders quarrelled; the few troops that had eſcaped from fatal diſeaſes were too much ſcattered; and the ſhips went to open a trade with the neighbouring ſtates. Under theſe inauſpicious circumſtances, the new factory was attacked, taken, and deſtroyed.

The Engliſh are ſtill ignorant, or pretend to be ſo, from whence this act of violence, which coſt them 9,000,000 livres [375,000l.], proceeded. Their ſuſpicions have appeared to fix alternately upon the Dutch, who are conſtantly alarmed for the Moluccas; upon the Spaniards, who might be apprehenſive for the Philippine iſlands; upon the barbarians of the neighbouring latitudes, whoſe liberty ſeemed to be threatened: ſometimes even upon a conſpiracy of all theſe enemies, who had united their reſentment and their intereſts. From whatever quarter this unexpected ſtroke may

have come, the miſchief is not irremediable. The Britiſh nation may recover at Queda, on another part of the continent of Malacca, or in ſome one of the numerous iſlands ſcattered about this ſtrait, what they have loſt at Balambangan. If obſtacles of too powerful a nature ſhould once more render their attempts ineffectual, they would find a multitude of motives of conſolation in Bengal.

Revolutions that have happened in Bengal.

Bengal is a vaſt country of Aſia, bounded by the kingdoms of Aſham and Arracan on the eaſt; by ſeveral provinces belonging to the Great Mogul on the weſt; by dreadful rocks on the north; and by the ſea on the ſouth. It extends on both ſides the Ganges, which riſes from different ſources in Thibet, and, after ſeveral windings through Mount Caucaſus, penetrates into India, acroſs the mountains on its frontier. This river, after having formed in its courſe a great number of large, fertile, and well peopled iſlands, diſcharges itſelf into the ſea by ſeveral mouths, of which only two are known and frequented.

Towards the ſource of this river was formerly a city called Palibothra. Its antiquity was ſo great, that Diodorus Siculus makes no ſcruple of aſſuring us that it was built by that Hercules to whom the Greeks aſcribed all the great and ſurpriſing actions that had been performed in the world. In Pliny's time, its opulence was celebrated through the whole univerſe; and it was looked upon as the general mart for the people inhabiting both ſides of the river that waſhed its walls.

The hiſtory of the revolutions that have happened in Bengal is intermixed with ſo many fables that it does not deſerve our attention. All we can diſcover is, that the extent of this empire has been ſometimes greater and ſometimes leſs; that it has had fortunate and unfortunate periods; and that it has already been formed into one ſingle kingdom, or divided into ſeveral independent ſtates. It was under the dominion of one maſter, when a more powerful tyrant, Akbar, grandfather of Aurengzebe, undertook the conqueſt

BOOK III.

of it; which was begun in 1590, and completed in 1595. Since this era, Bengal has always acknowledged the Mogul for its ſovereign. At firſt, the governor to whom the adminiſtration of it was intruſted, held his court at Rajamahul, but afterwards removed it to Dacca. Ever ſince the year 1718, it has been fixed at Muxadavad, a large inland town, two leagues diſtant from Caſſimbuzar. There are ſeveral Nabobs and Rajahs ſubordinate to this viceroy, who is called Soubah.

This important poſt was occupied for a long time by the ſons of the Great Mogul; but they ſo frequently made an improper uſe of the forces and treaſure at their diſpoſal, to raiſe diſturbances in the empire, that it was thought proper to commit that province to men who had leſs influence, and were more dependent. The new governors, indeed, did not give any alarm to the court of Delhi; but they were far from being punctual in remitting the tribute they collected to the royal treaſury. Theſe abuſes gained further ground after the expedition of Kouli-Khan; and matters were carried ſo far, that the emperor, who was unable to pay the Marattas what he owed them, authoriſed them, in 1740, to collect it in Bengal themſelves. Theſe banditti, divided into three armies, ravaged this fine country for ten years together, and did not leave it till they had extorted fifteen millions of rupees.

Ancient manners of the Indians ſtill exiſting in the Biſſenpour.

During all theſe commotions, deſpotic government, which unhappily prevails throughout India, kept up its influence in Bengal; though a ſmall diſtrict in the province that had received its independence, ſtill continues to maintain it. This fortunate ſpot, which extends about a hundred and ſixty miles, is called Biſſenpour. It has been governed, time immemorial, by a Bramin family of the tribe of Rajahputs. Here it is that the purity and equity of the ancient political ſyſtem of the Indians is found unadulterated. This ſingular kind of government, the moſt beautiful and moſt intereſting monument in the world, has hitherto been beholden with too much indifference. The only

remains we have of ancient nations conſiſt in monuments of braſs and marble, which ſpeak only to the imagination and to opinion, uncertain interpreters of manners and cuſtoms that no longer exiſt. Were a philoſopher tranſported to Biſſenpour, he would immediately be a witneſs of the life led by the firſt inhabitants of India many thouſand years ago; he would converſe with them; he would trace the progreſs of this nation, celebrated as it were from its very infancy; he would ſee the riſe of a government, which being founded only on happy prejudices, on a ſimplicity and purity of manners, on the mildneſs of the people, and the integrity of the chiefs, has ſurvived thoſe innumerable ſyſtems of legiſlation, which have made only a tranſitory appearance upon the ſtage of the world with the generations they were deſtined to torment. More ſolid and durable than thoſe political ſtructures, which, raiſed by impoſture and enthuſiaſm, are the ſcourges of mankind, and are doomed to periſh with the extravagant opinions that gave them birth, the government of Biſſenpour, the offspring of a juſt attention to order and the laws of nature, has been eſtabliſhed and maintained upon unchangeable principles, and has undergone no more alteration than thoſe principles themſelves. The ſingular ſituation of this country has preſerved to the inhabitants their primitive happineſs and the gentleneſs of their character, by ſecuring them from the danger of being conquered, or of imbruing their hands in the blood of their fellow-creatures. Nature has ſurrounded them with waters, and they have only to open the ſluices of their rivers in order to overflow the whole country. The armaments to ſubdue them have ſo frequently been diſperſed, that the plan of enſlaving them has been laid aſide; and the projectors of it have thought proper to content themſelves with an appearance of ſubmiſſion.

Liberty and property are ſacred in Biſſenpour. Robbery, either public or private, is never heard of. As ſoon as any ſtranger enters the territory he comes under the protection of the laws, which provide for his

BOOK III.

ſecurity. He is furniſhed with guides at free coſt, who conduct him from place to place, and are anſwerable for his perſon and effects. When he changes his conductors, the new ones deliver to thoſe they relieve an atteſtation of their conduct, which is regiſtered and afterwards ſent to the Raja. All the time he remains in the country he is maintained and conveyed with his merchandiſe, at the expence of the ſtate, unleſs he deſires leave to ſtay longer than three days in the ſame place. In that caſe he is obliged to defray his own expences, unleſs he is detained by any illneſs or other unavoidable accident. This beneficence to ſtrangers is the conſequence of the warmth with which the citizens eſpouſe each other's intereſts. They are ſo far from entertaining a thought of doing an injury to each other, that whoever finds a purſe, or other thing of value, hangs it upon the firſt tree he meets with, and informs the neareſt guard, who give notice of it to the public by beat of drum. Theſe maxims of probity are ſo generally received, that they direct even the operations of government. It receives annually between ſeven and eight millions [from 291,666*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* to 333,333*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*], without injury to agriculture or trade, and what is not wanted of this ſum to ſupply the unavoidable expences of the ſtate is laid out in improvements. The Raja is enabled to engage in the moſt humane employments, as he pays the Mogul only what tribute he thinks proper, and at the time he [illegible]ſes.

Readers, whoſe [illegible]g hearts have been tranſported with joy at the deſcription of the ſimplicity of the manners and [illegible] government of Biſſenpour! you, who, tired with the vices and diſorders prevailing in your own country, have undoubtedly frequently left it in imagination, in order to behold the virtue, and ſhare the happineſs, of this little corner of Bengal, it is with regret that I am now going to deſtroy, perhaps, this moſt agreeable illuſion, and pour the bitter cup of melancholy in your hearts; but truth compels me. Alas! this Biſſenpour, and all that I have

been ſaying about it, is, perhaps, nothing more than a fable.

I underſtand—With ſorrow you exclaim: A fable. What! is there nothing but the evil that can be ſaid of man, that is poſſible to be true? His miſery, or his wretchedneſs, are they the only circumſtances that are inconteſtible? This being, born as he is for virtue, the principle of which he would in vain attempt to ſtifle, which he never counteracts without remorſe, and which he is obliged to reſpect, even when it diſtreſſes or humiliates him: notwithſtanding all theſe circumſtances, this being is prone to wickedneſs, in every part of the globe. He is inceſſantly panting after happineſs, founded upon the baſis of his real duties, and yet he is unhappy every where. Every where he groans under the yoke of mercileſs rulers: every where he torments his equals, or is tormented by them; every where he is corrupted by education, and poiſoned from his birth by prejudice; every where he is devoured by ambition, agitated with the love of glory, or tormented with the thirſt of gold; while we are the ſad victims of theſe fell executioners, who purſue us to the verge of the grave. Has vice then extended itſelf over the whole earth? Alas! let innocence be ſuffered at leaſt to remain in this narrow ſpot, upon which our attention is fixed; and which our imagination carrying us over the immenſe ſpace that is between us, delighted to dwell upon.

Reader, I have experienced the ſame anxiety that you have. I have been led into the ſame reflections, when I found myſelf balanced between two authorities, almoſt of equal weight; the one for, the other againſt, the exiſtence of Biſſenpour. I have in our favour the teſtimony of an Engliſh traveller, who has reſided thirty years in Bengal. The teſtimony on the other ſide is alſo that of a traveller of the ſame nation, who has likewiſe lived for a conſiderable time in this country. Conſider the matter, and make your own choice.

Although the reſt of Bengal be far from enjoying ſame felicity, be it real or fabulous, as Biſſenpour, Productions, manufactures,

BOOK III.

and exports of Bengal.

it is nevertheleſs the richeſt and moſt populous province in the whole empire. Beſides its own conſumption, which is neceſſarily conſiderable, its exports are immenſe. One part of its merchandiſe is carried into the inland country. Thibet takes off a quantity of its cottons, beſides ſome iron and cloths of European manufacture. The inhabitants of thoſe mountains fetch them from Patna themſelves, and give muſk and rhubarb in exchange.

Muſk is a production peculiar to Thibet. It is contained in a ſmall bag of the ſize of a hen's egg, which grows in the ſhape of a bladder under the belly of a ſpecies of goat, between the navel and the genitals. In its original ſtate it is nothing more than putrid blood which coagulates in this bag. The largeſt bladder yields no more than half an ounce of muſk. The ſmell of it is naturally ſo ſtrong, that for common uſe, it is neceſſary to moderate it by mixing it with milder perfumes. The hunters, with a view of increaſing their profits, contrived to take away part of the muſk from the bladders, and to fill the vacuity with the liver and coagulated blood of the animal mixed together. The government, to put a ſtop to theſe fraudulent mixtures, ordered, that all the bladders, before they were ſewed up, ſhould be examined by inſpectors, who ſhould cloſe them with their own hands, and ſeal them with the royal ſignet. This precaution has put a ſtop to the frauds practiſed to reduce the quality of the muſk, but not thoſe which are calculated to increaſe the weight of it; they contrive to open the bags artfully and put particles of lead into them.

The trade of Bengal is nothing in compariſon of that which Bengal carries on with Agra, Delhi, and the provinces adjacent to thoſe imperial capitals. Salt, ſugar, opium, ſilk, ſilk ſtuffs, an infinite quantity of cottons, and particularly muſlins. Theſe articles, taken together, amounted formerly to more than forty millions a year [£4,000,000 13s. 4d.]. So conſiderable a ſum was not conveyed to the banks of the Ganges; but it was the means of retaining one

equal, which muſt have iſſued from thence to pay the duties, or for other purpoſes. Since the viceroys of the Mogul have made themſelves nearly independent, and ſend him no revenues but ſuch as they chooſe to allow him, the luxury of the court is greatly abated, and the trade we have been ſpeaking of is no longer ſo conſiderable.

The maritime trade of Bengal managed by the natives of the country, has not ſuffered the ſame diminution, nor was it ever ſo extenſive, as the other. It may be divided into two branches, of which Catek is in poſſeſſion of the greater part.

Catek is a diſtrict of ſome extent, a little below the moſt weſtern mouth of the Ganges. Balaſore, ſituated upon a navigable river, ſerves it for a port. The navigation to the Maldives, which the Engliſh and French have been obliged to abandon on account of the climate, is carried on entirely from this road. Here they load their veſſels with rice, coarſe cottons, and ſome ſilk-ſtuffs for theſe iſlands, and receive cowries in exchange, which are uſed for money in Bengal, and are ſold to the Europeans.

The inhabitants of Catek, and ſome other people of the lower Ganges, maintain a conſiderable correſpondence with the country of Aſham. This kingdom, which is thought to have formerly made a part of Bengal, and is only divided from it by a river that falls into the Ganges, deſerves to be better known, if what is aſſerted be true, that gunpowder has been diſcovered there, and that the diſcovery was communicated from Aſham to Pegu, and from Pegu to China. Its gold, ſilver, iron, and lead mines would have added to its fame if they had been properly worked. In the midſt of theſe riches, which were of very little ſervice to this kingdom, ſalt was an article of which the inhabitants were ſo much in want, that they were reduced to the expedient of procuring it from a decoction of certain plants.

In the beginning of the preſent century, ſome Brahmins of Bengal carried their ſuperſtitions to Aſham.

BOOK III.

where the people were guided ſolely by the dictates of natural religion. The prieſts perſuaded them, that it would be more agreeable to Brama if they ſubſtituted the pure and wholeſome ſalt of the ſea to that which they uſed. The ſovereign conſented to this, on condition that the excluſive trade ſhould be in his hands; that it ſhould only be brought by the people of Bengal, and that the boats laden with it ſhould ſtop at the frontiers of his dominions. Thus have all their falſe religions been introduced by the influence, and for the advantage of the prieſts who teach, and of the kings who admit them. Since this arrangement has taken place, forty veſſels are annually ſent from the Ganges to Aſham, laden with ſalt, which yields near two hundred per cent. profit. They receive in payment a ſmall quantity of gold and ſilver, ivory, muſk, aloes-wood, gum-lac, and a large quantity of ſilk.

This ſilk, which is ſingular in its kind, requires no care; it is found on the trees where the ſilk-worms are produced, nouriſhed, and undergo their ſeveral metamorphoſes. The inhabitants have no other trouble but that of collecting it. The neglected cods produce a new generation; during the growth of which, the tree puts forth new leaves, which ſerve ſucceſſively for the nouriſhment of the young worms. Theſe revolutions are repeated twelve times in a year, but do not produce ſo much in the rainy, as in the dry, ſeaſons. The ſtuffs made of this ſilk have a great deal of luſtre, but do not laſt long.

Excepting theſe two branches of maritime trade, which, for particular reaſons, have been confined to the natives of the country, the people of Bengal have been deprived of all others by the Europeans, and it was impoſſible it ſhould be otherwiſe. How could a weak, cautious, and oppreſſed people, who ſailed but ſlowly along the coaſts, and with very ſmall craft, ſucceſsfully maintain a competition againſt theſe ſtrangers, of an enterpriſing character, enjoying particular privileges even on the Ganges, and in all other parts bidding defiance to the tempeſtuous element upon their

immenſe veſſels? But in a country, where in general nothing is to be found neceſſary for the building of ſhips, the docks of Pegu are the only reſource which has been thought of to ſupply this deficiency. BOOK III.

Pegu is ſituated in the Gulf of Bengal, between the kingdoms of Arracan and Siam. Revolutions, which are ſo common in all the deſpotic empires of Aſia, have been here more frequently repeated than in any other. It has alternately been the centre of a great power, and a province to ſeveral ſtates leſs extenſive than itſelf. It is at preſent dependent upon Ava, where the Armenians alone buy up every thing that is furniſhed by Pegu, in topazes, ſapphires, amethiſts, and rubies.

The only port of Pegu that is open to ſtrangers is Syriam. The Portugueſe were a long time maſters of it. It then diſplayed a degree of ſplendour, which vaniſhed with the proſperities of that nation. It was revived, when the Europeans, ſettled at Bengal, thought of conſtructing there the numerous veſſels which the extent of their maritime connections required: but it having been found that the materials employed there were of bad quality, it became neceſſary to give up this point, and the road fell again into obſcurity. All the trade here at preſent is confined to the exchange of a few ordinary linens from the banks of the Ganges, or the coaſt of Coromandel, for wax, tin, and ivory.

A ſtill more conſiderable branch of commerce, which the Europeans at Bengal carry on with the reſt of India, is that of opium. Opium is the produce of the white poppy of the gardens, all the parts of which yield a milky juice. This plant, which periſhes every year, has oblong and ſinuate leaves, of a ſea-green colour, alternately diſpoſed upon a ſmooth ſtem, with very few branches, and three feet high. Each branch is almoſt naked, terminated by a ſingle flower, rather large, compoſed of a calix with two leaves, four white or roſe-coloured petals, and a great number of ſtamina, placed under the piſtil, which they ſurround. The piſtil grows into a large round ſeed-veſſel, ornamented

BOOK III.

with a radiated crown, and filled with a prodigious number of round, white, and oily ſeeds. When the poppy is full of ſap, and that the head of it begins to ſwell, one or more inciſions are made into it, from whence diſtil ſome drops of the milky liquor contained within, which is left to congeal, and is afterwards gathered. This operation is repeated three times; but the produce gradually diminiſhes in quantity, nor is it of ſo good a quality. When the opium is gathered it is moiſtened and kneaded with water or honey, till it acquires the conſiſtence, viſcidity, and gloſſineſs of pitch, when it is well prepared, and is then made into ſmall cakes. That kind is moſt in eſteem which is rather ſoft, and yields to the touch, is inflammable, of a blackiſh-brown colour, and has a ſtrong fetid ſmell; on the contrary, that which is dry, friable, burnt, and mixed with earth and ſand, is to be thrown away. According to the different manner of preparing it, and the doſes in which it is given, it ſtupifies, excites agreeable ideas, or occaſions madneſs.

The meconium, or common opium, is prepared by preſſing the poppy heads that have been already cut. The juice which comes out of them, mixed with the leaſt beautiful of the other drops is kneaded with water, and made into cakes, which are ſent to Europe. As it is often adulterated, it is purified before it is uſed.

The province of Bahar is the country in the univerſe where the poppy is moſt cultivated. The fields are covered with it. Beſide the opium which is carried into the inland parts, there are annually ſix hundred thouſand pounds weight exported. This opium is not purified like that of Syria and Perſia, which we make uſe of in Europe; it is only a paſte that has undergone no preparation, and has not a tenth part of the virtue of the other.

An exceſſive fondneſs for opium prevails in all the countries to the eaſt of India. In vain have the laws of China condemned to the flames every veſſel that imports, and every houſe that receives it; the conſumption is not the leſs conſiderable. It is ſtill greater

at Malacca, Borneo, the Moluccas, Java, Macaſſar, Sumatra, and all the iſlands of this immenſe Archipelago. Theſe iſlanders ſmoke it with their tobacco. Thoſe who are deſirous of attempting ſome deſperate action, intoxicate themſelves with this ſmoke. In this intoxication they fall upon the firſt object that preſents itſelf: upon a man whom they have never ſeen, as well as upon their moſt implacable enemy. Theſe atrocious acts have not convinced the Dutch, who are maſters of the places where the opium has the moſt dangerous conſequences, of the neceſſity of putting a ſtop to, or even reſtraining the uſe of it. Rather than deprive themſelves of the conſiderable profit they derived from the ſale of it, they have authoriſed all the citizens to maſſacre thoſe who, being diſordered with opium, appear in the ſtreets armed. Thus it is that ſome ſyſtems of legiſlation introduce and keep up dangerous paſſions and opinions; and when once theſe have prevailed among the people, nothing can be thought of but death or tortures to put an end to them.

BOOK III.

The Engliſh, who take as great a ſhare in this odious commerce as they poſſibly can, have other branches more peculiar to themſelves. They carry rice and ſugar to the coaſt of Coromandel, for which they are paid with metals. They carry to Malabar linens, which they exchange for ſpices; and to Surat ſilks, which they barter for cotton. They carry rice, gum-lac, and linens, to the Perſian Gulf, from whence they receive dried fruits, roſe water, and eſpecially gold. They carry rich and various cargoes to the Red Sea, which furniſhes little elſe than ſilver. Theſe ſeveral connections with the different parts of India, bring in annually to Bengal from five and twenty to thirty millions of livres [from 1,041,666l. 13s. 4d. to 1,250,000l.]

Though this trade paſſes through the hands of the Europeans, and is carried on under their protection, it is not entirely on their own account. The Moguls, indeed, who are uſually confined to the places they hold under the government, have ſeldom any con-

BOOK III.

cern in these expeditions; but the Armenians, who since the revolutions in Persia, are settled upon the banks of the Ganges, to which they formerly only made voyages, readily throw their capitals into this trade. The Indians employ still larger sums in it. The impossibility of enjoying their fortunes under an oppressive government, does not deter the natives of this country from labouring incessantly to increase them. As they would run too great a risk by engaging openly in trade, they are obliged to have recourse to clandestine methods. As soon as a European arrives, the Gentoos, who know mankind better than is commonly supposed, study his character; and if they find him frugal, active, and well informed, offer to act as his brokers and cashiers, and lend or procure him money upon bottomry, or at interest. This interest, which is usually nine per cent. at least is higher when he is under a necessity of borrowing of the Cheyks.

These Cheyks are a family of Indians, possessed of great power, who have, from time immemorial, lived on the banks of the Ganges. Their riches have long ago procured them the management of the bank belonging to the court, the farming of the public revenue, and the direction of the money, which they coin afresh every year, in order to receive annually the benefit arising from the mint. By uniting so many advantages, they are enabled to lend the government forty [1,666,666l. 13s. 4d.], sixty, [2,500,000l.], or even a hundred millions [4,166,666l. 13s. 4d.] at a time. When the government finds it impossible to refund the money, or will not do it, the Cheyks are allowed to indemnify themselves by oppressing the people. That so prodigious a capital should be preserved in the centre of tyranny, and in the midst of revolutions, appears incredible. It is not possible to conceive how such a structure could be raised, much less how it could be supported for so long a time. To explain this mystery, it must be observed, that this family has always maintained a superior in-

fluence at the court of Delhi; that the Nabobs and Rajas in Bengal are dependent upon it; that thoſe who are about the perſon of the Subah have conſtantly been its creatures; and that the Subah himſelf has been maintained or dethroned by the intrigues of this family. To this we may add, that the different branches of it, and the wealth belonging to them, being diſperſed, it has never been poſſible to do them ſo much miſchief, but that they have been always left with more reſources than were neceſſary to enable them to purſue their revenge to the utmoſt extreme. Their deſpotiſm extended itſelf even over the Europeans who had ſettled factories in this country; and who indeed preſented themſelves to the yoke, by borrowing of theſe rapacious financiers immenſe ſums, at the apparent intereſt of ten per cent. but in effect of more than twelve, from the difference there was between the money they received, and that which they had to return.

The Portugueſe, who landed at Bengal a long time before the other navigators of Europe, formed a ſettlement at Chatigan, a port ſituated upon the frontier of Arracan, not far from the moſt eaſtern branch of the Ganges. The Dutch, who, without incurring the reſentment of an enemy at that time ſo formidable, were deſirous of ſharing in their good fortune, were engaged in ſearching for a port, which, without obſtructing their plan, would expoſe them the leaſt to hoſtilities. In 1603, their attention was directed to Balaſore; and all their rivals, rather through imitation than in conſequence of any well-concerted ſchemes, followed their example. Experience taught theſe merchants the propriety of fixing as near as poſſible to the different markets from whence their rich cargoes came; and they ſailed up that branch of the Ganges, which, after having ſeparated itſelf from the main river at Mourcha, falls into the ſea, under the name of the river Hughley. The government of the country permitted them to erect warehouſes wherever there was plenty of manufactures; and it even very

BOOK III.

imprudently allowed the liberty of erecting fortifications upon the banks of the river.

On going up the river, we firſt meet with the Engliſh ſettlement at Calcutta, where the air is unwholeſome, and the anchorage unſafe. Notwithſtanding theſe inconveniences, this town, to which liberty and ſecurity had ſucceſſively attracted many rich Armenian, Mooriſh, and Indian merchants, has increaſed its population in latter times to ſix hundred thouſand ſouls. On the land ſide, it would be entirely open to the enemy, if there were any there, or if they were to be feared: but Fort William, which is only at the diſtance of half a mile, would defend it againſt any forces ſent from Europe to attack or bombard it. It is a regular octagon, with eight baſtions, ſeveral counter-guards, and ſome half-moons, without either a glacis or covered-way. The ditch of this place, which has coſt more than twenty millions [833,333l. 6s. 8d.], may be about one hundred and ſixty feet wide, and eighteen feet deep.

Six leagues higher is ſituated Frederic Nagore, founded by the Danes in 1756, in order to ſupply the place of an ancient ſettlement, where they had not been able to maintain their ground. This new eſtabliſhment has not yet acquired any importance; and there is all the reaſon imaginable to believe, that it will never become conſiderable.

Chandernagore, which lies two leagues and an half higher, belongs to the French. It has the diſadvantage of being ſomewhat expoſed on the weſtern ſide; but its harbour is excellent, and the air is as pure as it can be on the banks of the Ganges. Whenever any building is undertaken that requires ſtrength, it muſt here, as well as in all other parts of Bengal, be built upon piles; it being impoſſible to dig to three or four feet deep without coming at water. We find upon this diſtrict, which is hardly a league in circumference, ſome few manufacturers, whom perſecution has driven here, as into the other European factories.

At the diſtance of a mile from Chandernagore, is

Chinſura, better known by the name of Hughley, being ſituated near the ſuburbs of that anciently renowned city. The Dutch have no other poſſeſſions there, but merely their fort; the territory round it depending on the government of the country, which hath frequently made it feel its power by its extortions. Another inconvenience attending this ſettlement is a ſand-bank that prevents ſhips from coming up to it: they proceed no further than Tulta, which is twenty miles below Calcutta; and this, of courſe, occaſions an additional expence to the government.

The Portugueſe had formerly made Bandel, which is eighty leagues from the mouth of the Ganges, and a quarter of a league above Hughley, the principal ſeat of their commerce. Their flag is ſtill diſplayed, and there are a few unhappy wretches remaining there, who have forgotten their country, after having been forgotten by it.

Except in the months of October, November, and December, when the frequent and almoſt continued hurricanes render the Gulf of Bengal impracticable, European ſhips may enter the Ganges during the remainder of the year. Thoſe that deſign to go up the river, previouſly touch at Point Palmiras, where they are received by pilots of their own nation, who reſide at Balaſore. The money they convey is put on board ſome ſloops, called bots, of between ſixty and a hundred tons burthen, which always precede the ſhips. The paſſage into the river Hughley lies through a narrow ſtrait between two ſand banks. The ſhips uſed formerly to come to an anchor at Cuſpy; but time has worn off the dread of thoſe currents, quickſands, and ſhoals, that ſeemed to choke up the navigation of the river, and the ſhips have been brought up to their reſpective places of deſtination. This boldneſs has occaſioned many ſhipwrecks; but in proportion as more experience has been gained, and the ſpirit of obſervation has been carried further, accidents of that kind have been leſs frequent. It is to be hoped, that the example of Admiral Watſon, who ſailed as high as

BOOK III. Chandernagore in a ſeventy gun ſhip, will not be forgotten; as a proper attention to it would ſave a great deal of time, trouble, and expence.

Beſide this great channel, there is another, by which goods may be brought from the places which furniſh them, to the principal ſettlement of each Company. For this purpoſe, a number of ſmall fleets are employed, conſiſting of eighty or a hundred veſſels, and ſometimes more. Theſe are manned with black or white ſoldiers, in order to check the inſatiable avarice of the Nabobs and Rajas they meet with in their paſſage. The goods purchaſed in the higher parts of the Ganges, at Patna and Caſſimbuzar, are carried down the river Hughley: thoſe purchaſed near the other branches of the Ganges, which are all navigable in the interior parts of the country, and communicate with each other, eſpecially towards the lower diviſion of that river, are conveyed into the Hughley by Rangafoula and Baratola, about fifteen or twenty leagues from the ſea. From thence they are carried up the ſtream to the principal ſettlement belonging to each nation.

The exports from Bengal to Europe conſiſt of muſk, gum-lac, nicaragua-wood, pepper, cowries, and ſome other articles of leſs importance brought thither from other places. Thoſe that are the immediate produce of the country are borax, ſaltpetre, ſilk, ſilk ſtuffs, muſlins, and ſeveral different ſorts of cottons.

The borax, which is found in the province of Patna, is a ſaline ſubſtance, which the chemiſts in Europe have in vain attempted to counterfeit. Some of them conſider it as an alkaline ſalt, which is found completely formed in the rich country of Indoſtan; others will have it to be the produce of volcanoes, or ſubterraneous fires.

Be this as it may, the borax is of great uſe in the working of metals, by facilitating their fuſion and purification. This ſubſtance being quickly vitrified by the action of fire, attracts the heterogeneous particles that are intermixed with theſe metals, and reduces

them to droſs. The borax is likewiſe abſolutely neceſſary in the aſſaying of ores, and the ſoldering of metals. The Dutch alone have the ſecret of refining it, which is ſaid to have been communicated to them by ſome Venetian families that came to ſeek that liberty in the United Provinces which they did not enjoy under the tyranny of their own ariſtocratical government.

Saltpetre is likewiſe the produce of Patna. It is extracted from a clay, which is either black, whitiſh, or red. The manner of refining it is by digging a large pit, in which the nitrous earth is depoſited, and diluted with a quantity of water, which is kept ſtirred till it comes to a conſiſtency. The water having drawn out all the ſalts, and the groſſer parts ſubſiding at the bottom, the more fluid particles are taken out, and put into another pit not ſo large as the former. This ſubſtance having undergone a ſecond purification, the clear water that ſwims on the top, and is totally impregnated with nitre, is taken off, and boiled in caldrons; it is ſkimmed while it is boiling, and, in a few hours, a nitrous ſalt is obtained infinitely ſuperior to any that is found elſewhere. The Europeans export about ten millions of pounds for the uſe of their ſettlements in Aſia, or for home conſumption in their reſpective countries. It is bought upon the ſpot for three ſols a pound [1½d.], at the moſt; and is ſold again to us for ten [5d.], at the leaſt.

Caſſimbuzar, which is grown rich by the ruin of Malda and Rajamahal, is the general market for Bengal ſilk, the greateſt part of which is ſupplied from that territory. The ſilk-worms are brought up and fed there in the ſame manner as in other places; but the heat of the climate hatches them, and brings them to perfection at all times of the year. A great many ſtuffs, made entirely of ſilk, or of ſilk and cotton mixed, are manufactured here. The firſt of theſe are moſtly conſumed at Delhi, or in our northern regions, the reſt in ſeveral countries of Aſia. With regard to the unwrought ſilk, the quantity conſumed in

BOOK III.

the European manufacture may be eſtimated at three or four hundred pounds weight: but for a few years paſt, the Engliſh carry away great quantities of it for their own uſe, and that of other nations; it is in general a very common ſort, ill twiſted, and takes no gloſs in dyeing. It is of little uſe, except for the woof in brocades.

Cotton is brought to much greater perfection; it is fit for every thing, and is uſefully employed in a variety of different manufactures, which are conſumed over the whole globe. That for which there is the moſt univerſal demand, and which more particularly comes from Bengal, is plain, ſtriped, or worked muſlin. It is eaſily manufactured in the rainy ſeaſon, becauſe then the materials are more flexible, and do not break ſo readily. The weavers, during the reſt of the year, ſupply, as much as poſſible, this moiſture in the air, by veſſels full of water, which they take care to put under their looms.

Although the manufactures in which the cottons are prepared are diſperſed throughout the greateſt part of Bengal, Dacca may be conſidered as the general market of them. Till of late, Delhi and Muxadavad were furniſhed from thence with the cottons wanted for their own conſumption. They each of them maintain an agent on the ſpot to ſuperintend the manufacture of them; who has an authority, independent of the magiſtrate, over all the workmen, whoſe buſineſs has any relation to the object of his commiſſion. It was a misfortune to them to appear too dexterous, becauſe they were then forced to work only for the government, which paid them ill, and kept them in a ſort of captivity. When the caprices of tyranny were ſatisfied, Europeans, other ſtrangers, and natives, were allowed to begin their purchaſes: but ſtill they were obliged to employ brokers eſtabliſhed by the miniſtry, and as corrupt as they were. Theſe reſtraints and rigours put an end to induſtry, the child of neceſſity, but the companion of liberty.

The revolutions which have given new ſovereigns

to Bengal, ought to have introduced other maxims. Nevertheleſs, we do not ſee that the works that come from thence, are more perfect than they were before that period. It is poſſible that thoſe who fabricate them may not really have experienced any change of condition. When they ceaſed to be the ſlaves of their Nabobs, they fell perhaps under a yoke equally oppreſſive.

All the purchaſes made in Bengal by the European nations, amounted, a few years ago, to no more than 20,000,000 of livres [833,333l. 6s. 8d.]. One-third of this ſum was paid in iron, lead, copper, woollens, and Dutch ſpices: the remainder was diſcharged in money. Since the Engliſh have made themſelves maſters of this rich country, its exports have been increaſed, and its imports diminiſhed, becauſe the conquerors have carried away a greater quantity of merchandiſe, and have paid for it out of the revenues they receive from the country. There is reaſon to believe, that this revolution in the trade of Bengal has not arrived at its criſis, and that ſooner or later it will be attended with more important conſequences and effects.

What opinion may be formed of the Engliſh ſettlement at St. Helena.

To maintain their intercourſe with this vaſt country, and their other Aſiatic ſettlements, the Engliſh Company have fixed upon St. Helena as a place of refreſhment. This iſland, which is only twenty-eight miles in circumference, is ſituated in the middle of the Atlantic ocean, at the diſtance of four hundred leagues from the coaſt of Africa, and ſix hundred from that of America. It is an irregular maſs of rocks and mountains, where at every ſtep we meet with evident traces of an extinguiſhed volcano. It was diſcovered in 1602 by the Portugueſe, who paid no attention to it. The Dutch afterwards formed a ſmall ſettlement upon the iſland, which they were diſpoſſeſſed of by the Engliſh, who have been fixed there ever ſince the year 1673.

Upon this barren and wild ſoil, a population has gradually been formed, of twenty thouſand ſouls, freemen or ſlaves. Here, as well as at the Cape of Good

BOOK III.

Hope, the number of females born exceeds greatly that of males. If it were proved, by accurate calculations, that the proceſs of nature is the ſame in all hot countries, this information would account for the public manners, and the private cuſtoms, of the people that dwell there.

None of the fruit trees exported from our climates to St. Helena have ſucceeded, except the peach tree. The vine has not proſpered there; and the vegetables have been conſtantly devoured by inſects; while a ſmall quantity only of the corn is preſerved from the attacks of the mice. The breeding of horned cattle has been the only reſource; and it is even only after the loſs of a great number, that the propagation has been ſucceſsful.

The climate deſtroyed every ſpecies of ſeed that was ſown by the cultivator. The idea was then ſuggeſted of planting ſhrubs, which could neither be injured by the heat, nor by the dryneſs of the ſoil; and under their ſhade a freſh and wholeſome green ſod made its appearance. This graſs, however, has never been able to feed more than three thouſand oxen at a time; a number inſufficient for the wants of the inhabitants, and of the navigators. This deficiency might perhaps be ſupplied, by having recourſe to artificial meadows, which intelligent travellers believe to be practicable in the preſent ſtate of things. But this plan will not be eaſily purſued, unleſs the mother-country ſhould make a ſacrifice of the beſt lands, which have been apparently reſerved for its ſervice, although in reality they are only kept for the advantage or the caprices of its agents.

The houſes that ſurround the harbour, ſcattered, as it were, by the hand of chance, gave the idea rather of a camp than of a town. The fortifications that ſurround them are inconſiderable; and the garriſon appointed to defend them, conſiſts only of five hundred ſoldiers, all diſſatisfied with their ſituation. The colony has but few refreſhments, and ſome oxen to give to the ſhips, in exchange for the proviſions and mer-

chandiſe they bring from Europe and Aſia. Accordingly, fiſh is the ordinary food of the blacks there, and makes great part of the nouriſhment of the white men.

Such is, according to the ſtricteſt truth, the ſtate of St. Helena, where the ſhips put in on their return from India to England, and where, in time of war, they find a convoy. The outward-bound ſhips are even repulſed from thence by the winds and currents. To avoid the inconveniences attending ſo long a voyage, made without ſtopping, ſeveral of them put in at the Cape of Good Hope; the reſt, particularly thoſe which are deſtined for the Malabar coaſt, take in refreſhments at the iſlands of Comora.

The uſe the Engliſh make of the iſlands of Comora.

Theſe iſlands, that lie in the Mozambique channel, between the coaſt of Zanguebar and Madagaſcar, are four in number: Comora, the principal one, from which this ſmall archipelago takes its name, is little known. The Portugueſe, who diſcovered it in the courſe of their firſt expeditions, brought the name of Europeans into ſuch deteſtation by their cruelties, that all who have ſince ventured to go on ſhore there, have either been maſſacred, or very ill treated. It has accordingly been quite forſaken. The iſlands of Mayota and Moely are not more frequented, on account of the difficulty of approaching them, and the want of a ſafe anchorage. The Engliſh veſſels put in at the iſland of Joanna.

Here it is, that, within the compaſs of thirty leagues, nature diſplays all her riches, with all her ſimplicity. Hills that are ever green, and valleys that are always gay, every where preſent a variety of delightful landſcapes. Thirty thouſand inhabitants, diſtributed into ſeventy-three villages, ſhare its productions. They ſpeak the Arabic language, and their religion is a very corrupt ſort of Mohammediſm; their moral principles are more refined than they uſually are in this part of the globe. The habit they have contracted of living upon milk and vegetables has given them an unconquerable averſion for labour. This lazineſs is the cauſe of a particular air of conſequence, which con-

BOOK III.

ſiſts, among perſons of diſtinction, in ſuffering the nails to grow to an immoderate length. In order that this negligence may have the appearance of beauty, they tinge their nails with a yellowiſh red, which they extract from a ſhrub.

Theſe people, born to be indolent, have loſt that liberty which they doubtleſs came hither to enjoy from a neighbouring continent, of which they were the original inhabitants. An Arabian trader, not quite a century ago, having killed a Portugueſe gentleman at Mozambique, threw himſelf into a boat, which chance conducted to Joanna. This ſtranger made ſuch good uſe of his ſuperior abilities, and the aſſiſtance of a few of his countrymen, that he acquired an abſolute authority, which is ſtill maintained by his grandſon. The change in the government did not in the leaſt diminiſh the liberty and ſecurity enjoyed by the Engliſh, who landed upon the iſland. They continued to put their ſick on ſhore without moleſtation, where the wholeſomeneſs of the air, the excellence of the fruits, proviſions, and water, ſoon reſtored them to health. They were only obliged to give a higher price for the proviſions they wanted, for which the following reaſons may be aſſigned:

The Arabians having been induced to frequent an iſland governed by an Arab, have brought the Indian manufactures into vogue; and as the cowries, cocoa nuts, and other commodities they received in exchange, were not ſufficient to defray the expence of this article of luxury, the iſlanders have been obliged to demand money for their goats and poultry, which they before exchanged for glaſs beads, and other trifles of as little value. This innovation has not, however, made the Engliſh deſert a place of refreſhment, which has no other inconvenience than that of being at too great a diſtance from our latitudes.

The Engliſh Company leave the country trade to

A ſimilar inconvenience did not prevent the Engliſh Company from extending their trade very conſiderably. The intercourſe carried on between one port of India and another was too confined, and of

too little conſequence to engage their attention for any length of time. They were ſoon ſufficiently enlightened to perceive that it was not for their intereſt to continue this kind of commerce. Their agents undertook it, with the conſent of the Company, upon their own account; and all the Engliſh were invited to ſhare it, upon condition of entering into a bond for 45,000 livres [1875l.], as a ſecurity for their good behaviour. To facilitate and haſten the proſperity which was one day to increaſe their own, the Company encouraged theſe traders, by taking a ſhare in their expeditions, and by giving them an intereſt in their own fleets, and frequently even undertaking to be the carriers of their merchandiſe at a low freight. This generous behaviour, reſulting from a national ſpirit, and ſo diametrically oppoſite to the ſpirit of monopoly, ſoon gave activity, ſtrength, and credit, to the Engliſh ſettlements.

Private adventurers.

Private trade has increaſed with the proſperities of the power that ſupports it, and has contributed in its turn to give that power more ſolidity. It employs at preſent three conſiderable capitals, and about two hundred veſſels, from fifty to two hundred tons burden, which have all Indian ſailors on board. The number of them would ſtill have been increaſed, if the Company had not exacted, in all its factories, a tax of five per cent. on all articles of free trade, and one of eight and a half per cent. on all remittances which the agents of this traffic wiſhed to make to the mother-country. When their neceſſities did not compel them to remit part of theſe unreaſonable demands, theſe particular funds were given up to other European merchants, or to Engliſh officers, who, not being ſtrictly dependent upon the Company, could traffic for themſelves in the voyages they undertook for them.

Reſtraints experienced by the Company in their trade: Capital they

If individuals were oppreſſed by the mother-country, that was confined in its turn by the regulations of the treaſury. The ſhips of the Company were always to return into an Engliſh port; and thoſe which brought prohibited merchandiſe, to London. By a ſingular re-

BOOK III.

gulation, unworthy of a commercial people, and which it has always been found neceſſary to break through, they were allowed to ſend into India no more than 6,750,000 livres [281,250l.] in money. They were obliged to export, in merchandiſe of the country, to ten times the value of what they ſent in ſpecie. All the productions of Aſia that were conſumed by the nation were to pay five and twenty per cent. to the public treaſury, and ſome a great deal more.

beſtowed upon it, and degree of extenſion they gave it.

Although the ignorance, or the capacity of the different adminiſtrators; the events of peace and war; the proſperity or the misfortunes of the mother-country; the greater or leſs demand for Indian manufactures in Europe; and the degree of competition experienced from other nations, may have had conſiderable influence on the number and utility of the Company's expeditions; yet it may be ſaid that their commerce has been more extenſive and proſperous in proportion to the increaſe of their capital. At firſt it conſiſted only of 1,620,000 livres [67,500l.]. This trifling fund was gradually increaſed by that ſhare of the profits that was not ſubject to a dividend, and by the ſums, more or leſs conſiderable, thrown in by new proprietors. It had ariſen to 8,322,547 livres ten ſols [346,772l. 16s. 3d.], when, in 1676, the directors thought it better to double it than to order an immenſe dividend, which their ſucceſs enabled them to make. This capital continued increaſing till the two Companies that had ſo obſtinately oppoſed each other threw their wealth, their plans, and their expectations, into one common ſtock. It has ſince riſen to 67,500,000 livres [2,812,500l.]. With this capital the proviſions and merchandiſe which India furniſhes in ſo great abundance were bought. Theſe were conſumed in Great Britain, in its African factories, in its colonies of the New World, and in ſeveral parts of Europe. In proceſs of time tea became one of the great objects of this trade.

This herb was introduced into England by the Lords Arlington and Oſſory, who imported it from

Holland in 1666, and their ladies brought it into fashion among people of their own rank. At that time it ſold in London for near ſeventy livres [2l. 18s. 4d.] a pound, though it coſt but three or four [from 2s. 6d. to 3s. 4d.] at Batavia. Notwithſtanding the price was kept up with very little variation, the taſte for this liquor gained ground; it was not, however, brought into common uſe till towards the year 1715, when green tea began to be drunk, whereas till then no ſort was known but the bohea. The fondneſs for this Aſiatic plant has ſince become univerſal. Perhaps the frenzy is not without its inconveniences; but it cannot be denied that it has contributed more to the ſobriety of the nation than the ſevereſt laws, the moſt eloquent harangues of Chriſtian orators, or the beſt treatiſes of morality.

In 1766, ſix millions of pounds of tea were brought from China by the Engliſh, four millions five hundred thouſand by the Dutch, two millions four hundred thouſand by the Swedes, the ſame quantity by the Danes, and two millions one hundred thouſand by the French. The whole of theſe quantities amounted to ſeventeen millions four hundred thouſand pounds. The preference given by moſt nations to chocolate, coffee, and other liquors, joined to a ſeries of obſervations carefully purſued for ſeveral years, and the moſt exact calculations that can poſſibly be made in ſuch complicated caſes, inclines us to think that the whole conſumption throughout Europe did not exceed, at that period, five millions four hundred thouſand pounds. In this caſe, that of Great Britain muſt have been of twelve millions.

It is univerſally allowed that there are at leaſt two millions of people in the mother-country, and a million in the colonies, which conſtantly drink tea. Each individual conſumed about four pounds in a year; and each pound, including the taxes, was ſold, one with another, for ſix livres ten ſols [5s. 5d.]. According to this calculation, the price of this commodity muſt have amounted to ſeventy-two millions of livres

BOOK III.

[3,000,000l.]; but this was not exactly the caſe, becauſe half the quantity was ſmuggled, and therefore coſt the nation much leſs.

The war between Great Britain and North America has obliged the Company to diminiſh its imports of tea. But this circumſtance has not affected their trade. The deficiency has been ſupplied by a greater quantity of ſilks furniſhed by China and Bengal, and by the increaſe they have given to the ſales they commonly uſed to make of the productions and manufactures of Coromandel and Malabar. Their chief reſource, however, has been the conqueſt of Bengal, an event rather of a recent date.

Conqueſt of Bengal. How, and by whom it was made.

Should it be aſked, Whether this aſtoniſhing revolution, which has had ſo ſenſible an influence both upon the fate of the inhabitants of this part of Aſia, and upon the trade of the European nations in theſe climates, hath been the conſequence and reſult of a ſeries of political combinations; or whether it be one of thoſe events of which prudence has a right to boaſt? we ſhall anſwer in the negative. Chance alone has determined it: and the circumſtances that have opened this field of glory and power to the Engliſh, far from promiſing them the ſucceſs they have had, ſeemed on the contrary to threaten them with the moſt fatal reverſe of fortune.

A pernicious cuſtom had for ſome time prevailed in theſe countries. The governors of all the European ſettlements took upon them to grant an aſylum to ſuch of the natives of the country as were afraid of oppreſſion or puniſhment. As they received very conſiderable ſums in return for their protection, they overlooked the danger to which the intereſts of their principals were expoſed by this proceeding. One of the chief officers of Bengal, who was appriſed of this reſource, took refuge among the Engliſh at Calcutta, to avoid the puniſhment due to his treachery. He was taken under their protection. The ſubah, juſtly irritated, put himſelf at the head of his army, attacked the place, and took it. He threw the garriſon into a

cloſe dungeon, where they were ſuffocated in the ſpace of twelve hours. Three and twenty of them only remained alive. Theſe wretched people offered large ſums to the keeper of their priſon, to prevail upon him to get their deplorable ſituation repreſented to the prince. Their cries and lamentations were ſufficient informations to the people, who were touched with compaſſion; but no one would venture to addreſs the deſpotic monarch upon the ſubject. The expiring Engliſh were told that he was ASLEEP; and there was not, perhaps, a ſingle perſon in Bengal who thought that the tyrant's ſlumbers ſhould be interrupted for one moment, even to preſerve the lives of one hundred and fifty unfortunate men.

What then is a tyrant? Or rather, what are a people accuſtomed to the yoke of tyranny? Is it reſpect or fear that makes them bend under it? If it be fear, the tyrant then is more formidable than God, to whom man addreſſes his prayers, or his complaints, at all times of the night, or at every hour of the day. If it be reſpect, mankind may then be brought even to revere the authors of their miſery, a prodigy which ſuperſtition alone could accompliſh. Which is it that aſtoniſhes us moſt; the ferocity of the Nabob who ſleeps, or the meanneſs of him who dares not awake him?

Admiral Watſon, who was juſt arrived in India with his ſquadron, and Colonel Clive, who had ſo remarkably diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the war of the Carnatic, did not delay to avenge the cauſe of their country. They collected the Engliſh who had been diſperſed, and were flying from place to place; they went up the Ganges in the month of December 1756, retook Calcutta, made themſelves maſters of ſeveral other places, and gained a complete victory over the ſubah.

A ſucceſs ſo rapid and extenſive becomes in a manner inconceivable, when we conſider that it was only with a body of five hundred men that the Engliſh were acting againſt the whole force of Bengal. But if their ſuperiority was partly owing to their better diſcipline, and to other evident advantages that the

BOOK III.

Europeans have in battle over the Indian powers; the ambition of eaſtern chiefs, the avarice of their miniſters, and the nature of a government which has no other ſprings but thoſe of the intereſt of the moment, and fear, were of ſtill more effectual ſervice to them; they availed themſelves of the concurrence of theſe ſeveral circumſtances in this firſt, as well as in every ſucceeding enterpriſe. The ſubah was deteſted by all his people, as tyrants generally are; the principal officers ſold their intereſt to the Engliſh; he was betrayed at the head of his army, the greateſt part of which refuſed to engage; and he himſelf fell into the hands of his enemies, who cauſed him to be ſtrangled in priſon.

They diſpoſed of the ſubahſhip in favour of Jaffier-Ally-Khan, the ringleader of the conſpiracy, who ceded to the Company ſome provinces, with a grant of every privilege, exemption, and favour, to which they could have any pretenſion. But ſoon growing weary of the yoke he had impoſed upon himſelf, he was ſecretly contriving the means to free himſelf from it. His deſigns were diſcovered, and he was taken priſoner in the centre of his own capital.

Coſſim-Ally-Khan, his ſon-in-law, was proclaimed in his ſtead. He had purchaſed this uſurpation with immenſe ſums; but he did not enjoy it long. Impatient of the yoke, as his predeceſſor had been, he gave ſome tokens of his diſpoſition, and refuſed to ſubmit to the laws the Company impoſed upon him. The war immediately broke out again. The ſame Jaffier-Ally-Khan, whom the Engliſh kept in confinement, was again proclaimed ſubah of Bengal. They marched againſt Coſſim-Ally-Khan. His general officers were corrupted: he was betrayed and entirely defeated: too happy, that, while he loſt his dominions, he ſtill preſerved the immenſe treaſures he had amaſſed.

Notwithſtanding this revolution, Coſſim-Ally did not forego his hopes of vengeance. Fired with reſentment, he went, with all his riches, to the nabob of Bennares, chief vizir of the Mogul empire. This nabob, and all the neighbouring princes, united them-

ſelves againſt the common enemy: but the conteſt at preſent was not with a handful of Europeans from the coaſt of Coromandel, but with all the forces of Bengal, of which the Engliſh were maſters. Elated with their ſucceſs, they did not wait to be attacked; they marched immediately to oppoſe this formidable league; and they marched with that confidence which Clive inſpired them with; a leader, whoſe name ſeemed to have become the pledge of victory. Clive, however, would not hazard an engagement. Part of the campaign was ſpent in negotiations; but at length the treaſures which the Engliſh had already drawn from Bengal ſerved to enſure them new conqueſts. The heads of the Indian army were corrupted; and, when the nabob of Bennares was deſirous of coming to action, he was obliged to fly with his men, without ever being able to engage.

By this victory, the country of Bennares fell into the hands of the Engliſh: and it ſeemed as if nothing could hinder them from annexing that ſovereignty to that of Bengal: but, either from motives of moderation or prudence, they were content to levy eight millions [333,333l. 6s. 8d.] by contribution: and they offered peace to the nabob on conditions which would render him incapable of doing them any injury: but, ſuch as they were, he moſt readily agreed to them, that he might regain the poſſeſſion of his dominions.

In the midſt of theſe calamities, Coſſim-Ally-Khan ſtill found means to preſerve part of his treaſures, and retired to the Seiks, a people ſituated in the neighbourhood of Delhi, from whence he made an attempt to procure ſome allies, and to raiſe up enemies againſt the Engliſh.

While theſe things were paſſing in Bengal, the Mogul emperor having been driven from Delhi by the Pattans, who had proclaimed his ſon in his room, was wandering from one province to another in ſearch of a place of refuge in his own territories, and vainly requeſting ſuccour from his own vaſſals. Abandoned

BOOK III. by his ſubjects, betrayed by his allies, without ſupport, and without an army, he was ſtruck by the power of the Engliſh, and implored their protection. They promiſed to conduct him to Delhi, and reinſtate him on his throne; but they inſiſted that he ſhould previouſly cede to them the abſolute ſovereignty over Bengal. This ceſſion was made by an authentic act, and attended with all the formalities uſually practiſed throughout the Mogul empire.

The Engliſh, poſſeſſed of this title, which was to give a kind of legitimacy to their uſurpation in the eyes of the people, ſoon forgot the promiſes they had made. They gave the Mogul to underſtand, that particular circumſtances would not ſuffer them to engage in ſuch an enterpriſe; that they muſt wait for more favourable times; and they aſſigned him a place of reſidence, and a revenue to ſubſiſt upon. The Mogul empire was then divided between two emperors; one acknowledged in the ſeveral diſtricts of India, where the Engliſh Company had any eſtabliſhments and authority; the other in the provinces bordering on Delhi, and in thoſe parts to which the influence of that Company did not extend.

The Engliſh, thus become ſovereigns of Bengal, have thought it incumbent on them to keep up the ſhadow of ancient forms, in a country, where they are the greateſt, and, perhaps, the only power, that is likely to be ſecure and laſting. They governed the kingdom, and received the revenues of it, under the name of a ſubah, who, while he was at their diſpoſal, and in their pay, ſeemed to give his own orders. It is from him that all the public acts and decrees, which had really been deliberated in the council of Calcutta, appeared to proceed; ſo that the people, notwithſtanding their change of maſters, have for a conſiderable time been induced to believe, that they were ſtill under the ſame yoke.

Strange indignity, to wiſh to exerciſe oppreſſion, without appearing unjuſt; to be deſirous of reaping the fruits of one's rapine, and to throw the odium of

it upon another. Not to bluſh at acts of tyranny, and yet to bluſh at the name of tyrant. How wicked is man, and how much more flagitious would he be, if he could be convinced that his crimes would remain unknown, and that the puniſhment or ignominy of them would fall upon an innocent perſon!

The conqueſt of Bengal, the boundaries of which have ſince that period been extended, as far as that heap of mountains which ſeparate the Thibet and Tartary from Indoſtan, without making any eſſential alteration in the external form of the Engliſh Company, has produced a material change in the object of it. They are no longer a commercial ſociety, they are a territorial power which make the moſt of their revenues, by the aſſiſtance of a traffic that formerly was their ſole exiſtence, and which, notwithſtanding the extenſion it has received, is no more than an acceſſory in the various combinations of their preſent real grandeur.

Meaſures taken by the Engliſh to maintain themſelves in Bengal.

The arrangements intended to give ſtability to a ſituation ſo proſperous, are, perhaps, the moſt reaſonable that can be. England has at preſent in India an eſtabliſhment to the amount of nine thouſand eight hundred European troops, and fifty-four thouſand Sipahis, well paid, well armed, and well diſciplined. Three thouſand of theſe Europeans, and twenty-five thouſand Sipahis are diſperſed along the borders of the Ganges.

The moſt conſiderable body of theſe troops has been ſtationed in Bennares, once the ſource of Indian ſcience, and ſtill the moſt famous academy of theſe rich countries, where European avarice pays no reſpect to any thing. This ſituation has been choſen, becauſe it appeared favourable for ſtopping the progreſs of thoſe warlike people who might deſcend from the mountains of the north; and in caſe of attack, the maintaining of a war in a foreign territory would be leſs ruinous than in the countries of which the Company is to receive the revenues. On the ſouth, as far as it has been found practicable, they have occupied all the narrow paſſes by which an enterpriſing and ac-

BOOK III.

tive enemy might attempt to penetrate into the province. Decca, which is in the centre of it, has under its walls a conſiderable force always ready to march wherever its preſence may be neceſſary. All the nabobs and rajahs who are dependent on the ſubahſhip of Bengal, are diſarmed, ſurrounded by ſpies, in order to diſcover their conſpiracies, and by troops to render them ineffectual.

In caſe of any unfortunate revolution which might oblige the victorious power to change its ſituation, and abandon its poſts, the Engliſh have conſtructed a fort near Calcutta, called Fort William, which, in times of urgent neceſſity, would ſerve as a place of refuge for the army, ſhould they be forced to retreat, and give time to wait for the neceſſary reinforcements for the recovery of their ſuperiority.

Notwithſtanding the wiſe precautions taken by the Engliſh, they are not, and cannot be, without apprehenſions. The Mogul power may gain ſtrength, and wiſh to reſcue one of its fineſt provinces out of the hands of a foreign oppreſſor. They have reaſon to fear that the barbarous nations may be again attracted by the ſoftneſs of the climate. The princes now at variance may, perhaps, put an end to their conteſts, and reunite in favour of their common liberty. It is not impoſſible but that the Indians, who at preſent conſtitute the chief force of the victorious Engliſh, may one day turn againſt them thoſe arms of which they have taught them the uſe. Their grandeur, which is but imaginary, may, perhaps, moulder away without their being actually driven from what they poſſeſs. It is well known that the Marattas have always their attention fixed upon this beautiful country, and are conſtantly threatening it with invaſion. Unleſs the Engliſh are ſucceſsful enough, either by bribery or intrigue, to divert this dangerous ſtorm, Bengal will be the object of their pillage and rapine, whatever meaſures may be taken to oppoſe a light cavalry, the alertneſs of which exceeds every thing that can be ſaid of it. The incurſions of theſe plunderers may

be repeated; and then the Company will have leſs tribute to receive, and their expences will be increaſed.

Can England flatter herſelf that the proſperity of Bengal will continue?

Suppoſing, however, that none of the misfortunes we have ventured to foreſee, ſhould take place, is it likely that the revenues of Bengal, which in 1773 aroſe to 71,004,465 livres [2,958,519l. 7s. 6d.], but of which 61,379,437 livres ten ſols [2,557,476l. 11s. 3d.] have been abſorbed by plunder, or the neceſſary expences, ſhould always continue the ſame? This is, at leaſt, a matter of doubt. The Engliſh Company no longer export any coin, but even carry away ſome for the uſe of their factories. Their agents make incredible fortunes, and the private merchants conſiderable ones, which they go to the mother-country to enjoy. The other European nations find in the treaſures of this ruling power accommodations, which make it unneceſſary to introduce new bullion. Muſt not all theſe combined circumſtances neceſſarily occaſion a deficiency in the finances of thoſe countries, a void which will, ſooner or later, be perceived in the making up of the public accounts?

That period might indeed be protracted, if the Engliſh, reſpecting the rights of humanity, were at length to deliver thoſe countries from the oppreſſion under which they have continued to groan for ſo many ages. Then Calcutta, far from being an object of terror to the Indians, would become a tribunal always open to the complaints of thoſe unhappy ſufferers whom tyranny ſhould dare to moleſt. Property would be held ſo ſacred, that the treaſure, which for ſo many years has been buried, would be taken out of the bowels of the earth, to ſerve the purpoſe of its deſtination. Agriculture and manufactures would be encouraged to ſuch a degree, that the exports would become from day to day more conſiderable; and the Company, by following ſuch maxims as theſe, inſtead of being driven to the neceſſity of leſſening the tributes which they found eſtabliſhed, might poſſibly find means to bring about an augmentation conſiſtent with the general ſatisfaction of the natives. Let it not be ſaid

BOOK III.

that ſuch a plan is chimerical. The Engliſh Company itſelf has already proved the poſſibility of it.

Moſt of the European nations that have acquired any territory in India, generally chooſe for their farmers the natives of the country, from whom they exact ſuch conſiderable ſums in advance, that in order to pay them, they are obliged to borrow at an exorbitant intereſt. The diſtreſs which theſe greedy farmers voluntarily bring on themſelves, obliges them to exact of the inhabitants, to whom they let ſome parcels of the land below their value, ſo conſiderable a rent, that theſe unfortunate perſons quit their villages, and abandon them for ever. The contractor, ruined by this incident, which renders him inſolvent, is diſmiſſed to make room for a ſucceſſor, who commonly meets with the ſame fate; ſo that it very frequently happens, that nothing but the firſt ſum depoſited, or very little more is ever received.

Different meaſures have been purſued in the Engliſh colonies on the coaſt of Coromandel. It was obſerved that the villages had been formed by ſeveral families, who, for the moſt part, were connected with each other; this has been the reaſon why the cuſtom of employing farmers has been aboliſhed. Every land was taxed at a certain annual rent, and the head of the family was ſecurity for his relations and connections. This method united the coloniſts one with another, and created in them a diſpoſition, as well as the power, of affording each other a reciprocal ſupport. This has occaſioned the ſettlements of that nation to riſe to the utmoſt degree of proſperity they were capable of attaining; while thoſe of her rivals were languiſhing for want of cultivation and manufactures, and conſequently of population.

Why muſt a mode of conduct, which does ſo much honour to reaſon and humanity, be confined to the ſmall territory of Madras? Can it be true that moderation is a virtue that belongs only to a ſtate of mediocrity? The Engliſh Company, till theſe latter times, had always holden a conduct ſuperior to that of the

other Companies. Their agents, their factors, were well chosen. The most part of them were young men of good families, who were not afraid, when the service of their country called upon them, to cross those immense seas which England considers as a part of her empire. The Company had generally taken their commerce in a great point of view, and had almost always carried it on like an association of true politicians as well as a body of merchants. Upon the whole, their planters, merchants, and soldiers, had preserved more honesty, more regularity, and more firmness, than those of the other nations.

Oppressions and cruelties exercised by the English in Bengal.

Who would ever have imagined that this same Company, by a sudden alteration of conduct, and change of system, could possibly make the people of Bengal regret the despotism of their ancient masters? That fatal revolution has been but too sudden and too real. A settled plan of tyranny has taken the place of authority occasionally exerted. The exactions are become general and fixed, the oppression continual and absolute. The destructive arts of monopolies have been improved, and new ones have been invented. In a word, the Company have tainted and corrupted the public sources of confidence and happiness.

Under the government of the Mogul emperors, the subahs, who had the care of the revenues, were, from the nature of the business, obliged to leave the receipt of them to Nabobs, Polygars, and Jemidars, who were a sort of superior security for other Indians, and these still for others; so that the produce of the lands passed on, and was partly sunk amidst a multitude of intermediate hands, before it came into the coffers of the subah, who, on his part, delivered but a very small portion of it to the emperor. This administration, faulty in many respects, had in it one favourable circumstance for the people, that the farmers never being changed, the rent of the farms remained always the same; because the least increase, as it disturbed the whole chain of advantage which every one received in his turn, would infallibly have occasioned a

BOOK III.

revolt: a terrible reſource, but the only one left in favour of humanity, in countries groaning under the oppreſſions of deſpotic rulers.

It is probable that in the midſt of theſe regulations there were many acts of injuſtice and partial oppreſſions. But, at leaſt, as the aſſeſſment of the public monies was made at a fixed and moderate rate, emulation was not wholly extinguiſhed. The cultivators of the land being ſure of laying up the produce of their harveſt, after paying with exactneſs the rate of their farm, ſeconded the natural fertility of the ſoil by their labour; the weavers, maſters of the price of their works, being at liberty to make choice of the buyer who beſt ſuited them, exerted themſelves in extending and improving their manufactures. Both the one and the other, having no anxiety with regard to their ſubſiſtence, yielded with ſatisfaction to the moſt delightful inclinations of nature, or the prevailing propenſity of theſe climates; and beheld, in the increaſe of their family, one method of augmenting their riches. Such are evidently the reaſons why induſtry, agriculture, and population, have been carried to ſuch a height in the province of Bengal. It ſhould ſeem that they might ſtill be carried further under the government of a free people, friends to humanity; but the thirſt of gold, the moſt tormenting, the moſt cruel of all paſſions, has given riſe to a pernicious and deſtructive adminiſtration.

The Engliſh, become ſovereigns of Bengal, not content with receiving the revenues on the ſame footing as the ancient ſubahs, have been deſirous at once to augment the produce of the farms, and to appropriate to themſelves the benefit of them. To accompliſh both theſe objects, they are become the farmers to their own ſubah, that is, to a ſlave on whom they have juſt conferred that empty title, the more ſecurely to impoſe upon the people. The conſequence of this new plan has been to pillage the farmers, in order to ſubſtitute in their room the Company's agents. They have alſo monopolized the ſale of ſalt, tobacco,

and betel, articles of immediate neceſſity in thoſe countries, but they have done this under the name, and apparently on the account of the ſubah. They have gone ſtill further, and have obliged the very ſame ſubah to eſtabliſh in their favour an excluſive privilege for the ſale of cotton brought from any other province, in order to raiſe it to an exorbitant price. They have augmented the cuſtoms, and have at length cauſed an edict to be publiſhed, which forbids every European, except the Engliſh, from trading in the interior parts of Bengal.

When we reflect on this cruel prohibition, it ſeems as if it had been contrived only to deprive of every power of miſchief that unfortunate country, whoſe proſperity, for their own intereſt, ought to be the only object of the Engliſh Company. Beſides, it is eaſy to ſee that the perſonal avarice of the members of the council at Calcutta has dictated that ſhameful law. Their deſign was to enſure themſelves the produce of all the manufactures, in order to compel the merchants of other nations, who choſe to trade from one part of India to another, to purchaſe theſe articles of them at an exorbitant price, or to renounce their undertakings.

But ſtill, in the midſt of this overbearing conduct, ſo contrary to the advantage of their conſtituents, theſe treacherous agents have attempted to diſguiſe themſelves under the maſk of zeal. They have pretended, that as they were under the neceſſity of exporting to England a quantity of merchandiſe proportioned to the extent of her commerce, the competition of private traders was prejudicial to the purchaſes of the Company.

Under the ſame pretence, and in order to extend this excluſion to the foreign ſettlements, while they appear to reſpect their rights, they have of late years ordered more merchandiſe than Bengal could furniſh. At the ſame time the weavers have been forbidden to work for other nations until the Engliſh Company's orders were completed. Thus the workmen, not be-

BOOK III.

ing any longer at liberty to chooſe among the ſeveral purchaſers, have been forced to deliver the fruits of their labour at any price they could get for them.

Let us conſider too in what coin theſe workmen have been paid. Here reaſon is confounded; and we are at a loſs for excuſes or pretexts. The Engliſh, conquerors of Bengal, poſſeſſors of the immenſe treaſures which the fruitfulneſs of the ſoil, and the induſtry of the inhabitants, had collected, have debaſed themſelves ſo far as to alter the value of the ſpecie. They have ſet the example of this meanneſs, unknown to the deſpotic rulers of Aſia; and it is by this diſgraceful act that they have announced to the natives their ſovereignty over them. An operation, indeed, ſo contrary to the principles of trade and public faith, could not ſubſiſt for any length of time. The Company themſelves found the pernicious effects of it, and were reſolved to call in all the baſe coin, in order to replace it with other money, exactly the ſame as that which was always current in thoſe countries. But let us attend to the manner in which ſo neceſſary an alteration was conducted.

They had ſtruck in gold rupees to the amount of about fifteen millions [625,000l.] nominal value, but which repreſented, in fact, but nine millions [375,000l.]; for four-tenths, or ſomething more, was alloy. All who were found to poſſeſs theſe gold rupees of falſe alloy, were enjoined to bring them into the treaſury at Calcutta, where they ſhould be reimburſed for them in ſilver rupees; but inſtead of ten rupees and a half of ſilver, which each gold rupee ought to be worth according to its rate, they gave them but ſix; ſo that the amount of the alloy became the clear loſs of the creditor.

An oppreſſion ſo general muſt neceſſarily be attended with violence; and conſequently it has been neceſſary ſeveral times to have recourſe to force of arms to carry into execution the orders of the council at Calcutta. Theſe forces have not been employed againſt the Indians alone; tumults have alſo broken out, and

military preparations been made on all ſides, even in the midſt of peace. The Europeans have been expoſed to ſignal acts of hoſtility, and particularly the French, who, notwithſtanding their being ſo reduced and ſo weak, have ſtill excited the jealouſy of their former rivals. BOOK III.

If to this picture of public oppreſſions, we were to add that of private extortions, we ſhould find the agents of the Company, almoſt every where, exacting their tribute with extreme rigour, and raiſing contributions with the utmoſt cruelty. We ſhould ſee them carrying a kind of inquiſition into every family and ſitting in judgment upon every fortune; robbing indiſcriminately the artiſan and the labourer, imputing it often to a man as a crime that he is not ſufficiently rich, and puniſhing him accordingly. We ſhould view them ſelling their favour and their credit, as well to oppreſs the innocent, as to ſcreen the guilty. We ſhould find, in conſequence of theſe irregularities, deſpair ſeizing every heart, and an univerſal dejection getting the better of every mind, and uniting to put a ſtop to the progreſs and activity of commerce, agriculture, and population.

It will be thought, without doubt, after theſe details, it was impoſſible that Bengal ſhould have freſh evils to dread. But, however, as if the elements, in league with mankind, had intended to bring all at once upon the ſame people every calamity that by turns lays waſte the univerſe, a drought, of which there never had been an inſtance in thoſe climates, came upon them, and prepared the way for a moſt dreadful famine in a country of all the moſt fertile.

In Bengal there are two harveſts; one in April, the other in October. The firſt, called the little harveſt, conſiſts of the ſmaller grain: the ſecond, ſtyled the grand harveſt, is ſingly of rice. The rains, which commence regularly in the month of Auguſt, and end in the middle of October, are the occaſion of theſe different productions; and it was by a drought, which happened in 1769, at the ſeaſon when the rains are expected, that there was a failure in the great harveſt

BOOK III.

of 1769, and the leſs harveſt of 1770. It is true, that the rice on the higher grounds did not ſuffer greatly by this diſturbance of the ſeaſons, but there was far from a ſufficient quantity for the nouriſhment of all the inhabitants of the country; add to which, the Engliſh, who were engaged beforehand to take proper care of their ſubſiſtence, as well as of that of the Sipahis belonging to them, did not fail to keep locked up in their magazine a part of this harveſt, though it was already inſufficient.

They have been accuſed of having made a very bad uſe of that neceſſary foreſight, in order to carry on the moſt odious and the moſt criminal of all monopolies. It may be true that ſuch a horrid method of acquiring riches may have tempted ſome individuals; but that the chief agents of the Company, that the council of Calcutta could have adopted and ordered ſuch a deſtructive ſcheme; that, to gain a few millions of rupees, the council ſhould coolly have devoted to deſtruction ſeveral millions of their fellow-creatures, and by the moſt cruel means; this is a circumſtance we never can give credit to. We even venture to pronounce it impoſſible; becauſe ſuch wickedneſs could never enter at once into the minds and hearts of a ſet of men, whoſe buſineſs it is to deliberate and act for the good of others.

This calamity, however, was ſoon felt throughout the extent of Bengal. Rice, which was commonly ſold at one ſol [$\frac{1}{2}$d.] for three pounds, increaſed gradually till it came ſo high as to be ſold at four ſols [2d] per pound, and it has even riſen to five or ſix ſols [about 3d.]; neither indeed was there any to be found, except in ſuch places where the Europeans had taken care to collect it for their own uſe.

The unhappy Indians were every day periſhing by thouſands in this famine, without any means of help and without any reſource, not being able to procure themſelves the leaſt nouriſhment. They were to be ſeen in their villages, along the public ways, in the midſt of our European colonies, pale, meagre, fainting, emaciated, conſumed by famine; ſome ſtretched

on the ground in expectation of dying, others ſcarce able to drag themſelves on to ſeek for any food, and throwing themſelves at the feet of the Europeans, entreating them to take them in as their ſlaves.

To this deſcription, which makes humanity ſhudder, let us add other objects equally ſhocking; let imagination enlarge upon them, if poſſible; let us repreſent to ourſelves infants deſerted, ſome expiring on the breaſts of their mothers; every where the dying and the dead mingled together; on all ſides the groans of ſorrow, and the tears of deſpair; and we ſhall then have ſome faint idea of the horrible ſpectacle Bengal preſented for the ſpace of ſix weeks.

During this whole time the Ganges was covered with carcaſes; the fields and highways were choked up with them; infectious vapours filled the air, and diſeaſes multiplied; and one evil ſucceeding another, it was likely to happen, that the plague might have carried off the remainder of the inhabitants of that unfortunate kingdom. It appears, by calculations pretty generally acknowledged, that the famine carried off a fourth part; that is to ſay, about three millions.

But it is ſtill more remarkable, and ſerves to characteriſe the gentleneſs, or rather the indolence, as well moral as natural, of the natives, that amidſt this terrible diſtreſs, ſuch a multitude of human creatures, preſſed by the moſt urgent of all neceſſities, remained in an abſolute inactivity, and made no attempts whatever for their ſelf-preſervation. All the Europeans, eſpecially the Engliſh, were poſſeſſed of magazines. Theſe were even reſpected, as well as private houſes; no revolt, no maſſacre, nor the leaſt violence prevailed. The unhappy Indians, reſigned to deſpair, confined themſelves to the requeſt of ſuccour they did not obtain, and peaceably waited the relief of death.

Let us now repreſent to ourſelves any part of Europe afflicted by a ſimilar calamity. What diſorder! what fury! what atrocious acts! what crimes would enſue! How ſhould we have ſeen among us Europeans, ſome contending for their food with their dagger in

BOOK III.

hand, ſome purſuing, ſome flying, and, without remorſe, maſſacring one another! How ſhould we have ſeen men at laſt turn their rage on themſelves, tearing and devouring their own limbs, and in the blindneſs of deſpair, trampling under foot all authority, as well as every ſentiment of nature and reaſon!

Had it been the fate of the Engliſh to have had the like events to dread on the part of the people of Bengal, perhaps the famine would have been leſs general and leſs deſtructive. For, ſetting aſide, as perhaps we ought, every charge of monopoly, no one will undertake to defend them againſt the reproach of negligence and inſenſibility. And in what criſis have they merited that reproach? In the very inſtant of time when the life or death of ſeveral millions of their fellow-creatures was in their power. One would think, that, in ſuch an alternative, the very love of human kind, that ſentiment innate in all hearts, might have inſpired them with reſources. Might not the poor wretches, expiring before the eyes of the Europeans, with reaſon have cried out, "Is it then but for our ruin that you "are fertile in expedients for your own preſervation? "The immenſe treaſures which a long ſucceſſion of "ages had accumulated in this country, you have "made your own ſpoils; you have tranſported them "into your own country; you have levied your contributions on us; you have got your agents to receive them for you; you are maſters of our interior "commerce; you are the ſole managers of all our "exported merchandiſe; your numerous veſſels, laden with the produce of our induſtry and our ſoil, "pour riches into your factories, and into your colonies. All theſe things you regulate, and you carry "on ſolely for your own advantage. But what have "you done for our preſervation? What ſteps have "you taken to remove from us the ſcourge that threatened us? Deprived of all authority, ſtripped of our "property, weighed down by the terrible hand of "power, we can only lift our hands to you to implore your aſſiſtance. Ye have heard our groans;

" ye have ſeen famine making very quick advances upon us; and then ye attended to your own preſervation. Ye have hoarded up the ſmall quantity of proviſions which eſcaped the peſtilence; ye have filled your granaries with them, and diſtributed them among your ſoldiers. But us, the ſad dupes of your avarice, wretches in every reſpect, as well by your tyranny as by your indifference, ye treat us like ſlaves, while ye ſuppoſe we have any riches; but, when it appears we are but a ſet of beings full of wants, then you no longer regard us even as human creatures. Of what ſervice is it to us that you have the management of our public forces entirely in your hands? Where are the laws and the morals of which ye are ſo proud? What then is that government whoſe wiſdom you ſo much boaſt of? Have ye put a ſtop to the prodigious exports made by your private traders? Have ye changed the deſtination of your ſhips? Have they traverſed the neighbouring ſeas in ſearch of the means of ſubſiſtence for us? Have ye requeſted it of the adjacent countries? Ah! why has Providence ſuffered you to break the chain which attached us to our ancient ſovereigns? Leſs graſping, and more humane than ye are, they would have invited plenty from all parts of Aſia; they would have opened every communication; they would have laviſhed their treaſures, and have thought they did but enrich themſelves while they preſerved their ſubjects."

This laſt reflection, at leaſt, was calculated to make an impreſſion on the Engliſh, ſuppoſing even that every ſentiment of humanity was extinguiſhed in their hearts by the effects of depravity. The barrenneſs had been announced by a drought; and it is not to be doubted, that if, inſtead of having ſolely a regard to themſelves, and remaining in an entire negligence of every thing elſe, they had from the firſt taken every precaution in their power, they might have accompliſhed the preſervation of many lives that were loſt.

It muſt be allowed, that the corruption to which

BOOK III. the Engliſh gave themſelves up from the firſt beginning of their power, the oppreſſion which ſucceeded it, the abuſes every day multiplying, the entire loſs of all principle; all theſe circumſtances together form a contraſt totally inconſiſtent with their paſt conduct in India, and the real conſtitution of their government in Europe. But this ſort of problem in morals will be eaſily ſolved, upon conſidering with attention the natural effect of circumſtances and events.

Being now become abſolute rulers in an empire where they were but traders, it was very difficult for the Engliſh not to make a bad uſe of their power. At a diſtance from their country, men are no longer reſtrained by the fear of bluſhing before their countrymen. In a hot climate, where the body loſes its vigour, the mind muſt loſe ſome of its ſtrength. In a country where nature and cuſtom lead to indulgence, men are apt to be ſeduced. In regions where they come for the purpoſe of enriching themſelves, they eaſily forget to be juſt.

Perhaps, however, in a ſituation ſo dangerous, the Engliſh would at leaſt have preſerved ſome appearance of moderation and virtue, had they been checked by the reſtraint of the laws: but there were none to direct or to bind them. The regulations made by the Company, for the carrying on of their commerce, were not applicable to this new arrangement of affairs; and the Engliſh government, conſidering the conqueſt of Bengal but as a help towards increaſing numerically the revenue of Great Britain, gave up to the Company, for 9,000,000 of livres [375,000l.] per annum, the deſtiny of twelve millions of people.

Theſe unfortunate victims of inſatiate cupidity were oppreſſed with all the ſcourges that tyranny could collect; and the Company, which ordered or connived at all theſe crimes, was not the leſs threatened with total ruin. This would have been completed, if, in 1773, authority had not ſtepped in to their aſſiſtance, and enabled them to fulfil the raſh engagements they had entered into; but the parliament ordered that all the

details of this corrupt adminiſtration ſhould be ſubmitted to its inſpection; that the numerous frauds and violences which had been committed ſhould be publicly unmaſked; and that the rights of a whole people ſhould be weighed in the ſcale of liberty and juſtice.

Yes, auguſt legiſlators, ye will fulfil our expectations; ye will reſtore mankind their rights; ye will put a curb on avarice, and break the yoke of tyranny. The immoveable authority of law ſhall be ſubſtituted in all parts to an adminiſtration merely arbitrary. At ſight of this authority, monopoly, that tyrant over induſtry, will for ever diſappear. The fetters which private intereſt has rivetted upon commerce, ye will ſtrike off in favour of general advantage.

You will not confine yourſelves to this momentary reformation. You will carry your views into futurity; you will calculate the influence of climate, the danger of circumſtances, the contagion of example; and, to prevent their effects, you will ſelect perſons without connections, without paſſions, to viſit theſe diſtant countries; iſſuing from the boſom of your metropolis, they are to paſs through theſe provinces, in order to hear complaints, rectify abuſes, redreſs injuries; in a word, to maintain and reunite the ties of order throughout the country.

By the execution of this ſalutary plan, you will, without doubt, have done much towards the happineſs of theſe people, but not enough for your own honour. One prejudice you have ſtill to conquer, and that victory is worthy of yourſelves. Make your new ſubjects enjoy the ſweets of property. Portion out to them the fields on which they were born: they will learn to cultivate them for themſelves. Attached to you by theſe favours, more than ever they were by fear, they will pay with joy the tribute you impoſe with moderation. They will inſtruct their children to adore and admire your government; and ſucceſſive generations will tranſmit, with their inheritance, the

BOOK III.

ſentiments of their happineſs mixed with that of their gratitude.

Then ſhall the friends of mankind applaud your ſucceſs; they will indulge the hope of ſeeing proſperity once more revive in a country embelliſhed by nature, and no longer ravaged by deſpotiſm. It will be pleaſing to them to think that the calamities which afflicted thoſe fertile countries are for ever removed from them. They will pardon in you thoſe uſurpations which have been only ſet on foot for the ſake of deſpoiling tyrants; and they will invite you to new conqueſts, when they ſee the influence of your ſublime conſtitution extending itſelf even to the very extremities of Aſia, to give birth to liberty, property, and happineſs.

Meaſures taken by the government, and by the Company itſelf, to put an end to depredations of all kinds.

Let us now inquire whether theſe hopes, founded upon the high opinion which the Britiſh legiſlature muſt neceſſarily inſpire us with, were realized. Firſt, to prevent an inevitable bankruptcy, the effects of which would have been ſpread to a great diſtance, the government permitted the Company to borrow 31,500,000 livres [1,312,500l.] at an intereſt of four per cent. This ſum has been ſucceſſively reimburſed, and the laſt payment made in the month of December 1776.

The parliament afterwards releaſed the Company from the annual tribute of 9,000,000 of livres [375,000l.], which they paid to the treaſury ſince 1769. The period for the renewal of this contribution was not yet ſettled. It was only reſolved, that the proprietors ſhould not receive a dividend of more than eight per cent. without ſharing the overplus with the government.

The fate of the proprietors alſo engaged the attention of government. The trade of India was ill underſtood, and conducted upon very uncertain principles, in the laſt century. The conſequence of this was, that, in ſome inſtances, enormous profits were made, and in others conſiderable loſſes incurred. The

dividends received by the proprietors were regulated by theſe fluctuations. In proceſs of time theſe differences decreaſed, but the dividends were never equal. In 1708, they were no more than five per cent.; in 1709, they aroſe to eight, and in 1710, to nine. For eleven years ſubſequent to this they remained at ten, and were at eight only from 1721 to 1731. From that period to 1743, they did not exceed ſeven per cent. From 1743 to 1756, they roſe to eight, but fell to ſix from 1756 to 1766. In 1767, they roſe to ten, and were increaſed ſucceſſively, by two per cent. more, the following years. In 1771, they were carried as far as twelve and a half; but, eighteen months afterwards, the parliament reduced them to ſix, till the payment of 31,500,000 livres [1,312,500l.] was completed. The Company having fulfilled this engagement, raiſed their dividend to ſeven, and afterwards to eight, when they had paid off the half of their debt, known under the name of bills of contract, and which amounted to 67,500,000 livres [2,812,500l.].

Since the origin of the Company, the proprietors have always choſen annually twenty-four perſons from among them, to conduct their affairs. Although theſe directors may be choſen three times ſucceſſively, and although thoſe who are moſt in repute frequently ſucceed in obtaining this advantage, yet they were too much dependent upon their conſtituents to form any connected plans, or to adopt any reſolute meaſures. The parliament ordered, that, for the future, every director ſhould remain for four years, and that the fourth part of the direction ſhould be renewed every year.

The confuſion that prevailed in the deliberations ſuggeſted the idea of another regulation. Hitherto the public meetings had been tumultuous, becauſe every proprietor of 11,250 livres [468l. 15s.] had a right to vote. It was reſolved, that, for the future, this right ſhould only be granted to thoſe who had double that ſum. They were even compelled to affirm upon oath that they were really proprietors of this capital, and had been ſo for a whole year.

BOOK III.

It is ſaid that government had further views. They intended to reduce the number of directors to fifteen, to increaſe their appointments from 22,500 livres [937l. 10s.] to 45,000 livres [1875l.], and to liberate them from the controul of the proprietors. If this plan, which was to give ſo much influence to miniſters, has been really formed, ſome unforeſeen circumſtances muſt have prevented it from being carried into execution.

Independent of the changes ordered by parliament, the Company itſelf made an arrangement of evident utility.

This great aſſociation, from their firſt origin, were ambitious of having a navy. It was annihilated when they renewed their commerce, in the time of the Protector. As they were then eager to enjoy the benefit of this trade, they reſolved to make uſe of the ſhips of private perſons; and the plan they adopted at firſt from neceſſity, they perſevered in afterwards from motives of economy. Merchants uſed to freight ſhips for them, completely equipped and victualled, to convey to India, and to bring back from thence, the number of tons agreed upon. The time they were to remain at the place of their deſtination was always fixed. Thoſe which could not be ſupplied with cargoes were uſually taken by ſome free merchant, who readily engaged to indemnify the owners. They were to be diſpatched the firſt in the enſuing ſeaſon, in order that their rigging might not be too much worn. In caſes of neceſſity, the Company uſed to furniſh them with rigging from their own ſtores; but they were paid for them at a ſtipulated price, of fifty per cent. profit.

The ſhips employed in this navigation carried from ſix to eight hundred tons. The Company, at their departure, only took the room they wanted for their iron, lead, copper, woollen ſtuffs, and Madeira wines, the only merchandiſe they ſent to India. The proprietors might fill up the remaining ſpace in the ſhip with the proviſions neceſſary for ſo long a voyage, and with all

the articles which the Company they ſerved did not make objects of their trade. At their return, they had alſo the right of diſpoſing of the ſpace of thirty tons, which, by their contract, they had reſerved. They were even authoriſed to fill up this ſpace with the ſame goods that were received by the Company, but upon condition that they ſhould pay thirty per cent. on the value of them.

In 1773, this tax was reduced to the half, in hopes that this favour would induce the owners and their agents to fulfil their engagements with more exactneſs, and that it would put a ſtop to fraudulent imports. This new arrangement not having had the effect that was expected from it, the Company at length took the reſolution to appropriate to their own uſe all the ſpace of theſe ſhips. Since this reſolution, they import the ſame quantity of merchandiſe on a ſmaller number of veſſels, by which they make an annual ſaving of 2,250,000 livres [93,750l.]. In 1777, they ſent out only forty-five ſhips, conſiſting of thirty-three thouſand one hundred and ſixty-one tons, and the crews of which amounted to four thouſand five hundred men.

The ſurgeon of each veſſel, on its return from India, receives, beſide his appointments, a gratuity of four and twenty livres [1l.] for each man he brings back to Europe. It has been thought, with reaſon, that this ſurgeon, when better rewarded, would take more care of thoſe that were intruſted to him, and that the life of a man was worth more than a guinea. If the ſame cuſtom has not been adopted elſewhere, it is either becauſe they have a higher opinion of the ſurgeon, or a leſs value for man.

The reformation introduced in Europe in the management of the Company was wiſe and neceſſary; but it was chiefly in the Indies that humanity, juſtice, and policy, were ſubverted. Theſe dreadful truths did not eſcape the notice of government; and we ſhall now ſee what means were ſuggeſted to them for the re-eſtabliſhment of order.

BOOK III.

The boldeſt or moſt ambitious members of the adminiſtration advanced, that the legiſlative body ought to decide, that the territorial acquiſitions made in Aſia did not belong to the Company, but to the nation, which would immediately take poſſeſſion of them. This ſyſtem, upon whatever grounds of reaſoning it might have been ſupported, would certainly have been rejected. The moſt enlightened among the citizens would have ſeen that this arrangement would have given too much influence to the crown: it would have alarmed even thoſe venal minds which had hitherto been moſt partial to regal authority.

The parliament then thought proper to confine itſelf to the eſtabliſhment of a ſupreme council in Bengal, compoſed of five members, whoſe places, when they became vacated, were to be filled up by the Company, but with the approbation of the king. The abſolute direction of all the provinces conquered in that country was conferred on this council, whoſe juriſdiction extends alſo over all the other parts of India in which the Engliſh have poſſeſſions. Perſons who are in power there cannot make either war or peace, or enter into any treaty with the princes of the country, without the conſent of this council. It is to obey all the orders ſent from the directors, who in their turn are obliged to impart to the miniſtry all the intelligence they receive. Although the operations of commerce be not immediately under the inſpection of this council, yet it has in reality the deciſion of them; becauſe, having the ſole diſpoſal of the public revenues, it can grant or refuſe advances at pleaſure.

After having placed the banks of the Ganges under a more tolerable form of government, it became neceſſary to attend to the puniſhment, and even the prevention, of the enormities with which this rich part of Aſia was more and more ſullied. It was agreed, that, in all the other ſettlements, civil and criminal juſtice ſhould continue to be rendered by the principal ſervants of the Company: but the parliament created for Bengal a tribunal, compoſed of four magiſtrates,

who were appointed by the crown, and whoſe decrees could not be reverſed, except by the king in his privy council. Theſe judges, as well as the members of the ſupreme council, are not allowed to have any concern in trade. To indemnify them for this prohibition, the incomes aſſigned them have been too conſiderable, at leaſt in the opinion of the proprietors, who are obliged to pay them, without having either regulated or conſented to them.

Another very great abuſe had been introduced into India; and this was the raiſing of fortifications in all parts without neceſſity, ſometimes even without any apparent utility. It was the cupidity of the Company's agents alone which determined theſe conſtructions. They had coſt upwards of 100,000,000 of livres [4,166,666l. 13s. 4d.] in very few years. The direction put a ſtop to this dreadful evil, by wiſely regulating the ſum to be employed in future in this ſort of defence.

The ſpirit of order extended itſelf to the management of the public revenues, to the pay of the troops, to the military part of the navy, to the operations of commerce, and to the objects of adminiſtration.

The Great Mogul had taken refuge in Bengal, and a penſion had been aſſigned to him of 6,240,000 livres [260,000l.] for his ſubſiſtence. He was replaced upon the throne by the Marattas; and the Engliſh were relieved from a kind of tribute, which they did not ſubmit to without impatience, ſince they were no longer in need of this feeble ſupport. Chance was not ſo favourable to them in their ſchemes of ſtripping the Soubah of his country; and yet they reduced to 7,680,000 livres [320,000l.] the revenue of 12,720,000 livres [530,000l.], which, by the treaty of 1765, they were obliged to pay him. In 1771, his ſucceſſor was even reſtrained to 3,840,000 livres [160,000l.], upon pretence that he was a minor. He may expect to have his revenue ſtill more curtailed, becauſe his name is now never made uſe of, which, till the year 1772, was inſerted in all acts of ſovereignty.

BOOK III.

It was impoſſible that all theſe reformations ſhould not fill up the precipice which preſumption, neglect, factions, plunder, and extravagances of all kinds, had digged for the Company. We ſhall judge how much their ſituation has been improved.

Preſent ſituation of the Company.

On the 31ſt of January 1774, this body, the apparent proſperity of which aſtoniſhed the whole univerſe, had not more than 255,240,742 livres ten ſols [10,635,031l. 8s. 9d.]. Their debts amounted to 250,847,842 livres ten ſols [10,451,993l. 8s. 9d.]. The balance in their favour, therefore, was only 4,392,900 livres [183,037l. 10s.].

On the 31ſt of January 1776, their capital amounted to 256,518,067 livres ten ſols [10,688,252l. 16s. 3d.], and their debts to 195,248,655 livres [8,135,356l. 9s. 2d.]. Their treaſure was conſequently increaſed in two years by 56,876,512 livres ten ſols [2,369,854l. 13s. 9d.].

They have ſince paid off 11,506,680 livres [479,445l.], which remained due of the loan of 31,500,000 livres [1,312,500l.]. They have taken up 11,250,000 livres [468,750l.] in bills of contract. They have diſcharged ſeveral debts formerly contracted in India; ſo that, on the 31ſt January 1778, the Company had, at their free and entire diſpoſal, the ſum of 102,708,112 livres ten ſols [4,279,504l. 13s.], excluſive of their magazines, their ſhips, their fortifications, and every thing which is of uſe in maintaining their ſeveral ſettlements.

This proſperity will increaſe in proportion as the immenſe territory acquired by the Engliſh in India ſhall be better adminiſtered. In 1773, their poſſeſſions returned 113,791,252 livres ten ſols [4,741,302l. 3s. 9d.]; but the expences of collecting this ſum abſorbed 81,753,652 livres ten ſols [3,381,402l. 3s. 9d.]. At this period then, the nett produce amounted only to 32,060,100 livres [1,360,837l. 10s.]. It has gradually increaſed, becauſe ſome of the evils have been attacked with ſucceſs; it will increaſe ſtill more, becauſe there are ſtill many left to deſtroy.

The extenſion that has been given to the trade, will prove another ſource of fortune. The ſale of 1772 amounted to 79,214,872 livres ten ſols [3,300,619l. 13s. 9d.]; that of 1773, to 71,992,552 livres ten ſols [2,999,689l. 13s. 4d.]; that of 1774, to 82,665,405 livres [3,444,391l. 17s. 6d.]; that of 1775, to 78,627,712 livres ten ſols [3,276,155l. 3s. 9d.]; that of 1776, to 74,400,457 livres ten ſols [3,100,019l. 1s. 3d.].

Let us add to theſe great tranſactions of the Company the ſum of 11,250,000 livres [468,750l.], at which the merchandiſe annually brought clandeſtinely from the Indies is eſtimated. Let us add 4,500,000 livres [187,500l.] for the diamonds. Let us add the funds more or leſs extenſive, but always very conſiderable, the value of which the Engliſh diſtributed in the different factories of Aſia have furniſhed to foreign nations. Let us add the riches which theſe merchants themſelves carry away when they have amaſſed them, to go and enjoy them in their own country. Let us obſerve at the ſame time, that theſe vaſt ſpeculations, which render all the people of Africa, Europe, and America, tributary to Great Britain, do not take annually out of that empire for the Indies more than 2,250,000 livres [93,750l.], or at the utmoſt 3,375,000 livres [140,625l.]; and we ſhall have an idea of the immenſe advantages which theſe diſtant colonies procure to the fortunate poſſeſſors of them.

In 1780 the charter of the Company will expire, and every thing ſeems to promiſe that it will be renewed. Government, after having ſecured to itſelf the major part of the produce of thoſe conqueſts, will deliver up again theſe regions to the oppreſſive yoke of monopoly.

Will the charter of the Company be renewed?

"Unfortunate Indians! endeavour to reconcile "yourſelves to your chains. In vain have your ſup"plications been carried to the miniſtry, to the ſe"nate, and to the people. The miniſtry think only "of themſelves; the ſenate is raving; and the wiſe "part of the people are either ſilent, or their words "are not attended to. The rapacious and cruel aſſo-

BOOK III.

" ciation of merchants that has cauſed your misfor-
" tunes not only aggravates them, but looks upon
" them with tranquillity. Privileged robbers! ye who
" for ſo long a time have kept a great part of the globe
" under the fetters of prohibition, and who have con-
" demned it to eternal poverty, was not this tyranny
" ſufficient for you? Muſt you ſtill add to the weight
" of it, by crimes which render the name of your
" country execrable?

" What did I ſay, your country! I doubt whe-
" ther you have any. But if the voice of private in-
" tereſt alone can awaken your attention, liſten to it,
" while it exclaims by me, that you are precipitating
" yourſelves into ruin. Your tyranny is haſtening to
" its end. After the monſtrous abuſe you have made
" of your authority, whether it be renewed or not, it
" will ceaſe. Do you think that the nation, when
" rouſed, as it will be, from its preſent delirium and
" intoxication, will not call upon you to anſwer for
" your oppreſſions? Or that ye will not be made to
" expiate your enormities by the loſs of your criminal
" riches, and perhaps by the effuſion of your corrupt-
" ed blood? You deceive yourſelves, if you think
" that they will be forgotten. The horrid ſpectacle of
" ſo many immenſe regions pillaged, ravaged, or redu-
" ced to the moſt cruel ſervitude, will be diſplayed
" before us again. The earth now covers the carcaſes
" of three millions of men, who have periſhed through
" your fault or neglect: but they will be taken up
" again out of the ground; they will cry out to Hea-
" ven and to the earth for vengeance, and will obtain
" it. Time and circumſtances will only ſuſpend your
" puniſhment. I ſee the period approaching when
" you will be recalled, and your ſouls impreſſed with
" terror. I behold you dragged into the dungeons
" that you deſerve. I view you upon your coming
" out of them. I ſee you brought pale and trembling
" before your judges. I hear the exclamations of the
" people, in fury collected about their tribunals. The
" intimidated orator faulters in his harangue. Shame

" and dread have taken poſſeſſion of him, and he has
" given up your cauſe; the confiſcation of your eſtates,
" and the ſentence of your death, are pronounced.
" My menaces, perhaps, only excite in you a ſmile of
" contempt. You have perſuaded yourſelves, that
" men who can throw maſſes of gold into the ſcale of
" juſtice will make it incline at pleaſure. Perhaps
" even you flatter yourſelves that the nation corrupt-
" ed, while it prolongs your charter, will avow itſelf
" guilty of the crimes you have committed, and an
" accomplice of thoſe you may hereafter commit."

But this will not be the caſe; juſtice will ſooner or later be exerciſed. If it were otherwiſe, I would addreſs myſelf to the populace; I would ſay to them: People, whoſe clamours have ſo often cauſed your maſters to tremble, what are you now waiting for? For what occaſion do you reſerve your torches, and the ſtones that pave your ſtreets? Tear them up—but the upright citizens, if there be ſome left, will at length be rouſed. They will perceive that the ſpirit of monopoly is narrow and cruel; that it is inſenſible to the public good; and that it cannot be reſtrained by the idea of either preſent or future cenſure. They will find that this ſpirit ſees nothing beyond the preſent moment; and that in the paroxyſm of its frenzy, it has pronounced at all times, and among all nations, the following decree:

" Let my country periſh, let the region I command
" periſh likewiſe; periſh the citizen and the foreigner;
" periſh my aſſociate, provided I can but enrich my-
" ſelf with his ſpoils. All parts of the univerſe are
" alike to me. When I have laid waſte, exhauſted,
" and impoveriſhed one country, I ſhall always find
" another, to which I may carry my gold, and enjoy
" it in peace."

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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